

The Time of Remnants' Rule

LETTERS FROM SOUTH KOREA



THE TIME OF REMNANTS' RULE

Letters from South Korea

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EDITOR'S NOTE

"Letters from South Korea" written by anonymous author T.K. began to appear in the Japanese magazine "Sekai" from May 1973.

We have so far published them in five volumes of books in various foreign languages to hold many readers.

This serial deals mainly with the "rule of the remnants" led by fascist cutthroat Chon Du Hwan who has come on the scene after dictator Pak Jung Hi's death on October 26, 1979.

It contains some of the "Letters from South Korea" carried in the Japanese magazine "Sekai" (January-October 1980).

January 1981

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1. DICTATOR
PAK JUNG HI'S
DEATH

GONERS AND REMNANTS

Nov. 2, 1979

At last on the evening of October 26 Pak Jung Hi kissed the dust. The shocking news spread over Seoul the next morning. Many whispered the thing that had to come quickly came in the end. Pak had held power for as long as 18 years since he overthrew the Chang Myon regime through the military coup on May 16, 1961. That time he ran into a tough resistance of the people. Unable to maintain power with election frauds, he proclaimed martial law and rigged up the Yusin Constitution in October 1972 as his presupposed means for long-term office. When he revised the Constitution for the third term office in 1969, a rumour had it that he had expressed to the US Embassy his determination not to leave the Blue House (the presidential residence) till his bones turned white.

Holding the throne with such ambition, he must have been very ill at ease. As disclosed this time with his death, he had been keeping an army 7,000-8,000 strong under the Capital Garrison Command in Seoul in addition to 9,000 men of the fiercest airborne troops and 3,000-6,000 men of the special unit of the Blue House. The resistance of the barehanded people had been quite meaningless before such ballooned defenses. This brought about the "court tragedy" in which the KCIA Chief assassinated the despotic ruler. The people are now in the feelings

of half relief and half suspense. Aware of Pak Jung Hi's ambition, they had been afraid that a tragedy of that sort would take place sometime. Now a fear of different sort has come over them. What will the new military authorities in power do? If they hold on to the repressive means, the masses will rise again, won't they?

Rumours are rife in Seoul concerning Pak's death when his national funeral is due tomorrow. They go ahead of the statements of the joint investigation office of the Martial Law Command. No one believes that KCIA Chief Kim Jae Gyu is the sole offender. He might in no way venture on that single-handed.

The US side had shown brisk activity since Kim Yong Sam was ousted from the national assembly on October 4. The US ambassador to Seoul was recalled. On October 20 Defence Secretary Brown stressed the necessity of US support for the defence of south Korea at the end of the ROK-US security meeting. He told about drastically increasing the defence potential of the air force. In this period people rose in revolt in Pusan and Masan.

Pak's murder must have been related to all these facts. This is what the people think in starting various rumours to belie the alleged "facts" of the authorities.

One rumour:

That night Kim Jae Gyu invited Pak Jung Hi to the KCIA building in Kungjong Street near the Blue House. That building was erected on Pak's instructions because the KCIA Headquarters is a good way off in the Nam-san Hill. A fashionable restaurant is run there by the KCIA. The Martial Law Commander Chong Sung Hwa was waiting there before the dramatic incident happened. He and the upper echelon of the military authorities are involved in this case. Kim Jae Gyu could not venture on that plot without the backing of the military authorities

or the US army. The first bullet hit Pak Jung Hi in the sitting posture, and the second one Cha Ji Chol in the standing posture. In its wake the KCIA men on the alert with an M-16 machine-gun pumped lead into the presidential guards outside the building. The KCIA too seemed to have produced some casualties. Kim Jae Gyu met Chong Sung Hwa and went to the Defence Ministry with him by the latter's car. There Kim called a ministerial meeting and appointed Chong as the Martial Law Commander. Afterwards Chong ordered his men to arrest Kim. The press had not blamed Kim in the first two days after the incident. The KCIA is now kept from exercising all of its functions. It is placed under the Army Security Command. Though many of its men were checked up, most of them appear to be set free. At least two departmental directors are dismissed.

Another rumour: After killing Pak Jung Hi, Kim Jae Gyu first insisted on going to the KCIA Headquarters. But he gave in and followed after Chong Sung Hwa to the Defence Ministry. Kim Gye Won, Chief Secretary to the President, who had been at the banquet hall at the time of assassination, called three Ministers of Home Affairs, Judicial Affairs and Culture and Public Information to the Blue House right after the incident. He also telephoned for Defence Minister Ro. At that time Ro told Kim Gye Won to come to the Defence Ministry, believing that Cha Ji Chol had murdered Pak and was now calling up the Ministers to kill them. A ministerial meeting was thus arranged at the Defence Ministry and when Kim Jae Gyu quit his seat in the midst of the meeting, Kim Gye Won dropped a word that Kim Jae Gyu had murdered Pak. The Defence Minister ordered the Army Security Command to arrest the murderer. Some 80 men of the KCIA were examined, but most of them appear to have been released. Though the hardliners who followed the lead of Kim

Jae Gyu seem to have lost power, his men will still remain in the KCIA and the army circles. The military authorities circulate a rumour that Kim Jae Gyu fell down though he had planned to call out even tanks for the purpose as the military authorities had shown no interest in seizing political power. Kim Jae Gyu made the wrong start by going to the Defence Ministry instead of his KCIA Headquarters. Now the Vice-Chief of the Army General Staff is acting for the KCIA Chief to bring it under the military control. This has completely destroyed its morale.

Yet another rumour: Pak Jung Hi met his end chiefly because he had decided together with Cha Ji Chol to fire at the demonstrators at random. In Pusan a large number of citizens had risen in revolt. It is said that another big revolt was to break out in Seoul on October 29. It was Cha Ji Chol that dispatched 1,000-strong air-borne troops to Pusan to place it in a state of siege. He came from the air-borne unit and had a great influence on it. He had resolved to kill some 100,000 or so unhesitatingly in case a revolt broke out in Seoul. Kim Jae Gyu had opposed this, fully aware of the developments of things in Pusan. Now the military authorities are out to paint Cha Ji Chol as a wicked man. Pak's favourite Kim Song Jin, Minister of Culture and Public Information, was given a serious reprimand by Chong Sung Hwa, the Martial Law Commander. So, his name had been kept out of the newspapers for a few days. But he started speaking for the government again few and far between. This may be a sign of the stern approach of the military authorities towards those who had been tied up with Pak Jung Hi. It is said that though Chong Sung Hwa seems to be leading the military now, there're the strong force of the 11th-term graduates of the Military Academy lurking behind him. They have not been in-

fluenced by neither the Syngman Rhee nor Pak regime. They graduated from the Military Academy at the time of the Korean war. They are taking the commands of 11 divisions among the total 20. Most of them represent the elite of the army and have no so great interest in political power. So far they have had a spite against the military authorities roped up with politics and enterprises. They intend to sweep off such corruption within the military authorities. As they are well informed of the corrupt forces in the political circles too, no one can tell when they would go into action against them. There is no likelihood that the Martial Law Commander Chong Sung Hwa will come to power. Some say that he'll be ousted by the united forces of the opposing military and political circles, and some others that he has already been expelled on charge of having a hand in Pak's assassination. They say that though he is cautious and faultless by nature he so much lacks decision and guiding ability. It is said that two women were at the dinner party that evening—one was a singer and the other a TV talent.

That gave substance to an everyday scandal about Pak Jung Hi. It is said that both women got serious wounds and one of them breathed her last later.

As can be seen, Seoul shows a heavy political jolt while so many undefinable rumours are flying about. The rough unit that supported Pak as his body-guards is said to be pinned down and ordered off to the front. There are not so many armymen in Seoul though it is in a state of siege. They are seen merely guarding government buildings, public institutions, press organs and schools. The regular army was called off after standing guard for two days or so, and the men of the Capital Garrison Command are now taking their place. Such diminution of armymen in Seoul may be intended for giving an impression of change in the regime. But it

also appears to be reflecting the state of affairs within the army. Commanders on the front are too much keen about Seoul and send their important figures respectively. Each of them doesn't want any of other units to station many of its men in Seoul. Because it would lead that unit to coming to power. There are also varied rumours as to what will become of politics and comments are offered on them. Here are a few:

US influence has sharply increased, and that's the truth. It is said that last June right before US President Carter's visit to south Korea, one character closely related to the military met special presidential assistant Brzezinsky in Tokyo and sought his understanding as to a plot for Pak Jung Hi's expulsion or against his life. Brzezinsky refused it at first but, gave tacit consent on the condition that the US side should be informed of the start of action two days earlier. It seems that this plot had received an earlier consent from the US CIA.

The US side is going to elect provisional President and revise the Constitution in three months at the so-called Autonomous National Congress for Unification, the tool for presidential election, while keeping the present Yusin Constitution. In connection with the problem of his term of office, the US is studying the mood of the counterforce, saying now two years, now one year, now six months. It asks for a definite view of it on the part of the counterforce. While keeping this dark from the people, it insists that the US side and the military authorities should know it.

The US side puts up present Choe Gyu Ha or ex-chairman of the national assembly Chong Il Gwon as a candidate for provisional President. It is afraid that if Choe Gyu Ha known to people as the weakkneed is elected, they would think the military

authorities are the wirepuller. As for Chong Il Gwon, people consider him to be tied with the US as closely as its agent, though he was Chief of the Army General Staff at the time of the Korean war. More, he is too ill-famed for scandals concerning women. If he becomes President, it will give a strong impression that the US is behind the curtain. Either of the two is unlikely to win public confidence and save the situation. It is also doubtful whether the US army, US State Department and particularly the US embassy in Seoul are holding the same view. Won't the US troops here, the CIA in particular, force their reactionary tough policy, following their usual practice? Moreover, they, getting near with ROK army generals individually, are trying to make them cooperate with the US saying: "We believe you only." This is a kind of "divide-and-rule" policy.

One good thing is that no one wants a military regime. This may be the greatest lesson left by Pak's military rule. First of all, the people as a whole think they should avoid it. For this reason, the military authorities are trying hard to prove their innocence in Pak's assassination.

Cheju Island alone is not under martial law. This is designed to have the Martial Law Command formally directed by the present Cabinet. In case of partially enforcing martial law its commander is to follow the directives of the Defence Minister, which suggests the presence of a civil government. This is just what the military authorities have sought. If the whole land is placed under martial law and its commander is made obedient only to the President, it will be too plain that incompetent Choe Gyu Ha is directed by the Martial Law Commander. And the military stages a coup, no one knows what a great disaster the contempt of the lower army echelon for the upper army echelon

would bring to the nation. All this shows that the plot for a change of government has been framed with utmost prudence. It is said that a general election is due in March or April next year. In connection with the popular uprising in Pusan, 750 are still kept in prison. Some 45 of them are to be treated as not political, but criminal offenders on charge of destroying public establishments. The KCIA will be made only to work against communism as it did at its inception. Martial law will remain in force in one way or other for 3 months till the provisional President is elected. Important is the move of the universities which are expected to open again. It appears that the military authorities will not hesitate to close them down again if students go into action. A rumour is abroad that though there is a move to reshuffle the Cabinet save for Choe Gyu Ha acting for President and Ro Jae Hyon, Defence Minister, the US side is opposed to it. The problem is who will fill the vacancies, but a more important thing is how people will react on it.

How do Kim Yong Sam and his New Democratic Party and Kim Dae Jung act on all these rumours? According to varying reports compiled, Kim Yong Sam, in connection with the problem of recovering democracy and revising the Constitution, expressed the hope that the present national assembly, though beset with contradictions under the Yusin Constitution, will openly discuss about constitutional revision and reflect the people's will in the Constitution in keeping with their interests. If the acting President makes public the constitutional revision bill and submits it to the nation's direct vote, the present government will practice frauds and the military authorities and the US will excessively tamper with it. One reporter friend said:

"The New Democratic Party has grown wise. It is not so hasty. It tries to represent the will of the people, reading their face. But in effect, the people have a daily growing wish for early constitutional revision, direct presidential election and general election. It'll be good for political stability, I think. The petty guile to preserve the remnant forces won't get anywhere. It will only make the army circles take up politics. Even the Republicans think the age of the Yusin system is up. They insist that the rapid change of things will cause a chaos. It may be an expression of their fear that if things develop rapidly into revolution they would be unable to prolong their lives. Also important is the attitude of the Church though it still keeps silent. The US side is afraid lest the opposition forces should show a rapid movement. It also thinks it is not advisable to give press freedom all at once."

Under such situation Kim Dae Jung is still under house arrest and unable to express his views. If a person like Kim Dae Jung seizes power in such confusion, he will be retaliated politically or assassinated by those who think they have completely lost their vested rights. If they are to choose between Kim Dae Jung and Kim Yong Sam, they may take the latter who appears to prolong their lives somewhat. The same reporter friend went on:

"Word is going around that the whole membership of the New Democratic Party are bought off by the KCIA. It may be a fact. But it also may be a plot to lower its prestige like the Republican Party. Anyhow rumours, conspiracies and repressions are rife these days. People think the military and the US side are answerable for anything that may happen to Kim Dae Jung. Both the military and the US side evade their responsibility for Pak's assassination, dismissing it as a thing done by Kim Jae Gyu alone. True, the present reality of south Korea

is in their grip. Kim Dae Jung seems to hold: The schedule for democratization should be publicized quickly; the Constitution should be revised in three months and the general election held in six months; the present government may continue to exist in that while, but all persons except acting President Choe and Defence Minister Ro must resign taking the blame for all the untoward events. Of course, this fact is kept back from the people. The political situation will undergo a drastic change in the coming one week or two."

Kim Dae Jung appears to strongly demand of the US government the recovery of the democratic system in south Korea with these sharp words: President must be elected directly by the people. Otherwise, a government cannot enjoy their support. It is also the road to security. The US must help them take this road and the military must sit on the fence. Otherwise, there'll be no such security of south Korea as wanted very much by the US and the military.

When will the political offenders be released? When will Yun Bo Son and Kim Dae Jung be free from house arrest? It may mark the most important milepost, for the present on the road of democratizing south Korea.

A really heavy task is getting afoot now. The sudden death of the dictator does not mean the complete victory of the people. The remnants of the old system are still standing in their way. They are repeating the maintenance of order and security against the north as the dead dictator did in the past. But the people who have started onward march will never stop halfway.

A STORM THAT SWEEPED OVER PUSAN

Nov. 2, 1979

Now the events which occurred in Pusan and Masan are worth mentioning since they served as the main cause of the latest "court tragedy". The event in Pusan started in the morning of October 15 with a small demonstration at the Pusan University. It was soon put down by the riot police. But it developed into a large demonstration the next morning. There was a clash with the riot police, wounding three boy students and one girl student. The enraged students were powerless before the riot police and broke up with a call to gather again at 3:00 p.m. on the plaza before the municipal building.

The demonstration resumed at 3:00 p.m. and another university joined in it. The students headed for Central Kwangbok Street. A great number of citizens joined their ranks by hundreds. The number of demonstrators swelled to over 5,000. A huge building was under construction near Kwangbok Street. Students and citizens started destroying police cars held up nearby, by use of building materials. At that time the Pusan Police Chief turned up on the scene. He was soon flogged into a jelly and barely carried away by the riot police while his car was in flames. This raised the spirits of the masses. Girl students carried materials from the construction site and boy students flung them at the police.

The demonstrators marched towards the International Market. Shopkeepers were holding shutters half open and, at the sight of the police, dropped them upon letting in demonstrators. When the police went out of sight students came out and continued the demonstration. Fruit stores supplied apples to demonstrators. Towel shops distributed their wares among the students suffering from tear gas. Students and citizens were banded together in this way. My friend told me this episode:

“Girl students, having nothing to throw, involuntarily took up oranges put for sale on the roadside, and hurled them. An old woman regrettably said they were her wares. At this, the girl students emptied their pockets to pay for them. Moved at this sight, the old woman started throwing her oranges in spite of herself. They shouted demanding the abolition of the Yusin system and the emergency measures and supporting Kim Yong Sam. The demonstration lasted till 11:00 p.m. while its ranks kept growing. Some fought all night, cracking the windowpanes of government offices.”

On the 17th demonstrations were staged in many districts by Pusan University, Tonga University, Haeyang University, Women's University and several higher schools. Twenty-one police-boxes were kindled or destroyed that day. Demonstrators broke the windowpanes of press organs, the custom house, the court and the municipal office. The whole citizens fought in one way or other that day. The police used four or five times higher-powered tear-gas bombs. But the citizens and students continued to fight even without noticing that the city was in a state of siege.

Higher school students kept up the struggle on the 18th too even under martial law. Word spread

that three persons were killed by a tank moving on towards a higher school on a hill. The monstrous tank ran over the taxi with three riders in it. The army attacking the students were so much cruel. That day even the riot police is said to have not moved at first when ordered to dash at the masses. But numerous people were rounded up by the armed martial law forces. Nine police stations were keeping 70-80 people in custody each. Many other people were detained in hotels and the like. It seemed that nearly 1,500 people were apprehended. They say 16-21 people were killed. But the public security headquarters announced that 56 policemen and many students and citizens were wounded and 18 police cars destroyed. It was a sanguinary demonstration. Police cars dashed into the midst of the masses standing fast on the street. And many students were half-killed by police outrages.

Very fierce was the resistance of the Pusan citizens and students. So much ruthless was the riot police that tried to quell that resistance. Such bloodshed is bound to cause people's resistance in other areas. Indeed, it would give rise to a resolute popular revolt in Seoul.

The waves of the Pusan demonstration spread to naval port Chinhae and free trade port Masan. It is said that more workers than students participated in the Masan demonstrations mounted on October 18 and 19. On the first day 175 were arrested. Most of them were ordinary citizens. Eleven out of the 25 students were higher school students. It might possibly have been the harbinger of a nationwide revolt of the workers. The authorities gave out a strange report on the Masan demonstration. According to it, one of the demonstrators was carrying an unofficial rifle to bring casualties to the police force and to excite the masses. People received this re-

port as a scheme to put the blame for the casualties caused in Pusan and those to be caused in future by the riot police on what is called disturbing elements mingling in the masses. In the wake of that strange report Pak Jung Hi ascribed the Pusan uprising to the impure elements and the Ministry of Home Affairs swore to do its utmost to round up the underground communist rioters.

Thus Masan and Changwon were garrisoned. With this, not only Seoul but also all local cities, medium and small, were virtually placed under martial law. Campuses were under watch of the riot police. Police cordons were thrown around the main churches. Given such situation, Pak's death came as a natural result.

Tomorrow is the anniversary of the anti-Japanese students' movement which broke out in 1929 in Kwangju, South Cholla Province. A small clash between Korean and Japanese students developed into the nationwide anti-Japanese movement. This very anniversary is fixed as the date of Pak's national funeral. It may make an ironical history. It was Pak who declared that date not to be the students' day. And thanks to his death the fiftieth anniversary of the students' movement will be spent in silence. Will its fifty-first anniversary next year become the students' day with the restoration of democracy?

AFTER BURYING PAK'S REMAINS

Nov. 8, 1979

On November 6 the Martial Law Command stat-

ed that Pak's assassination is "Kim Jae Gyu's unilateral crime." Kim is already being called the "arch-villain of heinous treason". Apart from this, let me introduce information collected so far.

Pak was in bad humour as he ran into the Pusan and Masan incidents after ousting Kim Yong Sam from the national assembly. But on October 26 he seemed to divert himself at the ceremony performed in honour of the completion of the Samgyoho embankment project, where he allegedly saw some rosy prospects. In good humour he proposed to his Security Chief Cha to have a drink. Kim Jae Gyu was phoned by Cha that he should arrange a party. Kim hesitated as he had had the engagement with Chief of the Army General Staff Chong Sung Hwa. But he could not go against the President's intentions. Another rumour had it that the US CIA got what Cha was informing the Blue House of that day.

Opinions differ on whether Chong Sung Hwa conspired with Kim Jae Gyu. Some say Chong was on the scene of the bloodshed while others deny it. At the ministerial meeting held that evening in the wake of Pak's death, Chong reportedly said that he had only gone to the place specified by Kim Jae Gyu after receiving his phone call late that afternoon. He was entertained by the vice-chief of the security section of the KCIA on the second floor of the KCIA restaurant. That vice-chief was holding considerable power in the KCIA. There were gun reports when Chong rose to his feet, saying he should be leaving the place since the President's presence would keep Kim long.

The KCIA building in Kungjong Street was used in holding important talks between the President and the KCIA. It was also known as a place where Pak used to bring a woman and spend a pleasant

night with her. An unexpected party was arranged that evening to contribute to Pak's good humour. That day too Cha Ji Chol reproached Kim Jae Gyu for his unwise method of dealing with Kim Yong Sam's case and the Pusan and Masan incidents. Thus, Kim, who had long been biding his time to dispose of Pak Jung Hi and heard about a Cabinet reshuffle on schedule, went into action that evening taking it for his only chance. Because of inadequate preparations, he was apprehended.

It is said that Kim Jae Gyu mobilized that day 70-80 men of the KCIA including the vice-chief of the security section. Deploying them before the opening of the banquet, he went out of the hall twice, the first to order them to get ready for action and the second to confirm it, before firing his gun. He rushed up to the second floor and informed Chief of the Army General Staff Chong that the worst had happened to the President. Then Kim rode his car in the back seat together with Chong and vice-chief of the security section. The KCIA protocol chief took the front seat. Stressing the need to proclaim martial law, Kim told Chong to go to the general affairs section of the KCIA on the Nam-san Hill. But Chong insisted that it was impossible to issue martial law if they didn't go to the general affairs section of the Army Headquarters. In the midst of this quarrel, the protocol chief in the front seat observed: "All right. Let's go to the Army Headquarters." He was Kim's dutiful servant and was known as his brain trust.

Thus, the four entered underground bunker No. 2 of the Army Headquarters. Here Chief of the General Staff Chong informed Defence Minister Ro Jae Hyon of the incident. Ro quickly phoned Prime Minister Choe Gyu Ha, but the latter first disagreed on calling a ministerial meeting in either the Army Headquarters or the Defence Ministry. Ro excused

himself for his being out of condition and thus it was agreed to have a ministerial meeting at the Defence Ministry. When almost all the ministers arrived Chong Sung Hwa or Ro Jae Hyon furtively called out the provost marshal and told him to arrest Kim Jae Gyu and disarm his men. Ro Jae Hyon informed that "the worst had happened to the President" and stressed the need to declare martial law. Vice-Prime Minister Sin and others offered a different view, saying it was impossible before clarifying the real state of affairs. Thus, Home Minister Ku and Culture and Public Information Minister Kim went to the Capital Army Hospital and confirmed Pak Jung Hi's death. Martial Law was declared in this way. Though Pak's body was reportedly carried to the presidential ward by KCIA men, even the hospital director was not allowed to see the face of the body. But wiping the blood off the body, he saw the wounds in the belly and concluded that it was Pak's, for he was well familiar with it. Afterwards, Pak's body was laid down in another room. It is said that Pak got so many shots in the face it was hardly distinguishable. This was the fact though newspapers reported that he had received only two bullets.

The role the presidential secretary Kim Gye Won played in Pak's assassination is also in everybody's mouth. In face of Kim Jae Gyu he pledged himself to cooperate with him and told that back to the Blue House, he would inform the president's entourage of Pak's death. But at the Blue House he phoned Defence Minister Ro Jae Hyon that Kim Jae Gyu had murdered Pak Jung Hi. Weak-kneed by nature, he flowed the gab thinking the situation was unfavourable to him. This led to Kim Jae Gyu's arrest.

Kim Jae Gyu tried to draw Chief of the General Staff Chong into his plot. But Chong seems not to

have been involved in it before it was put into practice. As things developed unfavourably for Kim, Chong had him arrested. And now Defence Minister Ro seems to have held the reigns of government by fishing in troubled waters. But behind him there are a group of major generals represented by Chon Du Hwan, Army Security Commander, who is now highlighted in the press as chief of the joint investigation office of the Martial Law Command. Among the present 20 divisional commanders 11 are his alumni, that is, his eleventh-term graduates from the Military Academy. They went through the regular four-year course in 1956 to be commissioned second lieutenants. They have now formed a powerful group as the so-called regular first-term graduates of the Military Academy. Chon, among others, was most rapid in promotion. He is a self-styled nationalist. There had been Son Yong Gil, an alumnus superior to Chon. But he fell in 1973 with the downfall of Yun Pil Yong, then Capital Garrison Commander. At that time he was colonel and worked as chief of staff under Yun.

Chon Du Hwan had once served as vice-chief of the Blue House Security Office through commander of its crack first battalion. Except for serving once as commander of a front division, Chon had been mostly under the Capital Garrison Command keeping himself near political power. He tried to exert his personal influence upon the core of political power. Won't he scheme to fulfil his political ambition, this time taking advantage of Kim Jae Gyu's unsuccessful coup? It may be the seizure of power by the regular first-term graduates of the Military Academy. It is said that Vice-Chief of the Army General Staff Li has been sent to the KCIA as its acting Chief with the aim of bringing it under tight control this time since it is impossible to exclude it. But another rumour is afloat that it is

aimed at rather expelling Li, an eighth-term graduate from the Military Academy, from the military, than controlling the KCIA.

The eighth-term graduates of the Military Academy including Kim Jong Pil had formed the main force at the time of Pak's military coup in 1961. But they have now become an object of a purge as too much politicized and corrupt forces. In any case, it is the common view that the KCIA has come to take charge of the external and anti-communist affairs only, transferring its internal political affairs to the Army Security Command, that is, the CIC.

Another alarming rumour circulating in Seoul is that the whole army, naval and air forces except the third army corps were put on emergency alert right before the proclamation of martial law. The third army corps is in charge of the central and western front, covering the defence line of Seoul. So, it has the precedence over the first and second army corps. Likewise, its commander gets an advantage over the other two army corps commanders. This third army corps unit was marching towards Seoul when Pak Jung Hi was murdered. So, its commander is being interrogated by the Army Security Command. He is also an eighth-term graduate of the Military Academy.

In connection with the question of how deeply other armymen are involved in the case of Pak's murder, there are some rumours as to US CIA's interference in it. US army generals are on thee-and-thou terms with ROK army generals. As golf companions, they mix with each other and chat about many things. They seem to have said that the security of south Korea would be guaranteed by the US side in case of a change of government. The US CIA stretched its hands in every direction. It worked on Kim Jae Gyu on the one hand and, on the other, on Kim Gye Won. They also mixed with the

influential generals centering on the eleventh-term graduates of the Military Academy. After making a scapegoat of Kim Jae Gyu in this way, they are placing the elders of the army circles such as Chong Sung Hwa and Defence Minister Ro in the limelight as a tentative measure. But it is said that the generals forming the main body of the army are to hold real power.

In the light of these views, the "Full Story of Pak Jung Hi's Murder" released on November 6 by investigation chief Chon Du Hwan has nothing new. Its description of the development of the case is almost true. Nothing is specially misrepresented or fabricated. But it omitted the most important thing. In other words, it did not admit anything concerning the intervention of the military in that case. It denied Chief of the Army General Staff Chong Sung Hwa's complicity and kept the accent on gainsaying the involvement of the military in the case. This release, too, clearly shows that the Army Security Command is now holding the unshakable position inside the military.

It declared that the US had nothing to do with the case. But it may be true that the US instigated it by furnishing security against the north. When the murder case occurred, the US promptly reacted upon it and showed a posture of defence against the threat from the north. It made State Secretary Vance state that the US would support a civil government in hope of political progress. Now all newspapers have to pass censorship under martial law. But Vance's statement was reported as it was. This clearly indicates that with the consent of the US, the south Korean military is going to push the political situation in the direction wanted by the US.

AN OCEAN OF DOUBTS

Nov. 17, 1979

Many things still remain unknown concerning the popular uprisings triggered off in Pusan and Masan respectively on October 15 and 17. While hoping for the start of a better situation even under martial law, the people are merely keeping silence, their hearts plagued by the thought that things may go rather worse.

Newspapers are utterly ignoring the voices of the opposition forces for an early restoration of democracy, while carrying the speeches of the Martial Law Commander, government and ministerialists. They are only calling for "unity and compromise" and "nationwide setup" The Martial Law Commander declared: "Reckless political agitation is impermissible." "Unlawful demonstration, riot and the like are strictly prohibited." This is allegedly because "state security is the top-priority task" and, accordingly, "any act of increasing people's disunity and conflict and fanning up confusion and disorder" benefits the enemy presently. In such a state of siege, many facts are kept dark from the people. Will the democratic system ever be restored amid such closed-door politics or Court politics? This misgiving is ever present in the minds of the people who have some hope in Pak Jung Hi's death. Who holds the right of decision in that secret chamber? The military or the US?

I reported about the Pusan uprising before. Here are some detailed accounts of it. The struggle began on October 15 at the Library of Pusan University with the passage of a scrap of paper bearing the words, "Come to the library at 10:00 a.m." On account of this, 16-17 students were taken to the police. Next morning 8,000 students of the whole university joined in the struggle after chanting, "We Wish Freedom", "National Anthem" and "Alma Mater Song" in chorus. When the riot police was called out to stop them, they walked out to the street. In front of the Pusan municipal office of the NDP they cried, "Kim Yong Sam!" "Down with Pak Jung Hi!" Girl students willingly joined them, boosting their morale.

This led the university to a closedown and on the 17th the students of other universities in the city concentrated on main points of the street and mounted a demonstration. At 6:00 p.m. citizens joined in the struggle, bringing the total number of the demonstrators to over 200,000. Citizens sent hand-claps and carried cooler and fruit for the students. They hurled bottles and flower-pots at the police from rooftops. The police came charging into the midst of the masses and beat them at random. The mixed fight caused the death of one policeman and a few demonstrators. Some had their eyeballs popped out. It is said that four demonstrators were killed at least. The demonstration continued on the 18th too in a state of siege. One girl student was killed that day. As the casualties are kept in the places like a police hospital their families don't know their whereabouts.

The struggle in Masan seemed fiercer than that in Pusan, but its detailed accounts are still unavailable. It started towards the evening of the 17th with the demonstration of a small number of students at Kyongnam University. The demonstration was

snowballed on the 18th. The students persuaded the stores into putting out their lights so that the police could not take photos. Then they launched into fire-setting and stone-throwing. They also made the vehicles put out the headlights. They were college and higher school boy and girl students. Citizens joined them. A person is said to have discovered the body of a Kyongnam University student thrown into an outfall. Three police-boxes were burnt down. A police car was dumped into the waters from a bridge. The signboard of the Masan city office of the Republican Party was committed to the flames. The students raided the house of Pak Jong Gyu, former presidential security chief, who was lording over Kyongnam University. In the evening of the 19th too, the demonstration went on under the support of citizens, producing many casualties. There is no way to confirm this report. They may need martial law to make even such a miserable state of affairs pass into silence.

The masses of the people are fair and square. Despite the great efforts of the remnants who are still trying to prolong their days in power by trumping up a myth about Pak Jung Hi, this myth has already started crumbling among the people. Kim Jae Gyu fired shots at Pak Jung Hi at the moment he was dallying with a woman in attendance on him at the end of an erotic film. Kim pressed the trigger with the words, "Dirty wretch!" Pak is said to have begged his life saying, "I'll attend to all of your wishes." It might have included even his acceding to the demand for the renouncement of his throne. But it was no more than his last shriek, his last begging for life. My friend said:

"It happened before the Martial Law Command could attend to Miss Sim Su Bong and Miss Song

Jae Sun, who had been sitting by Pak's side. A weekly reporter met Miss Song, a drama and cinema college student, and obtained the detailed data of it. Learning of this belatedly, the Martial Law Command arrested him. They released him only after receiving his pledge not to write or utter about it.

"Here is another important report. These days newspapers cover the case of the South Korean National Liberation Front (SKNLF), which is allegedly related to the north and to the General Federation of Korean Residents in Japan. In this case some 110 are rounded up though 74 are the figure released. Also arrested are wives of those who were executed in the People's Revolutionary Party case. They face charges of having handed over the clothes of their late husbands to the SKNLF to make its flag with them. The principal offender is Li Jae Mun and behind him is a brigadier general. Both are said to have been protected at first by the Blue House. When the KCIA was going to arrest them, Security Chief Cha did not permit it. Pak Jung Hi and Cha Ji Chol at last ordered them arrested in an attempt to cook up a big case by embroiling many opposed to the system into it. It was, so to speak, aimed at making the home people, the US in particular, believe that since there are such guerrillas scheming for the overthrow of the state, it is impossible to permit the democratic movement on the part of those opposed to the system. In case a big demonstration broke out from universities in Seoul on October 29 as scheduled and citizens joined in it, Cha thought, he would ascribe it to the agitation of the SKNLF, crackdown on the demonstrators, destroying many lives with guns, and unhesitatingly condemning to capital punishment those opposed to the system.

"This plan too was held back by Kim Jae Gyu.

The only way under that system was to use a pistol on the part of its close associate. Despite the remnants' plot the Kim Jae Gyu case will become clear to the people. The military and the US should know this, in particular. Able lawyers should be entrusted with Kim's case so that he can disclose Pak Jung Hi and his regime at the military tribunal on the basis of what he had experienced as the KCIA Chief. It should be made the Pak regime's trial, not Kim's. Otherwise, the people will not remain silent, I suppose."

There is no knowing where the present closed-door politics will lead this country. While giving mouth to the restoration of democracy, they completely ignore democratic process in reality. It is said that while saying about the reopening of the campuses, the Army Security Command officers extensively meet movement students, hear their views or try to terrify them into submission with the words that they should keep quiet for the present since things will go better. Similar contacts are made with Christian churches. Do they think this is a democratic dialogue? Why don't they arrange a place of open talks with the sober-minded people?

It was not until November 10 that Choe Gyu Ha announced that a new President would be elected by January 25 next year under the present so-called Yusin Constitution and then this Constitution would be revised as early as possible. Earlier on the 8th, the Martial Law Commander Chong declared: "Reckless political agitation is impermissible. Any demand for early constitutional revision and presidential election deserves repression as reckless political agitation". It can't be printed in any newspaper. This is their very democracy. How comes it that those with the armed forces alone can do discreet politics? Can democracy come out of it? It is

an ocean of doubts.

The authorities say that the campuses will be reopened, detainees be released and those students expelled under the emergency measures be reinstated. This means that any one can be restored to such rights if only he is obedient to the "democratic" decision made in the secret chamber. Restoration of human rights is in any case a favour done by the remnants. When the fighters were going to express their dissatisfaction, there came an announcement that the presidential by-election was due in early December. "Democratic" decisions rigged up in the secret chamber by the military, the US and the remnants are designed to stop the critical mouths of the people. How much will this "democracy" differ from Pak Jung Hi's "Korean-styled democracy"? My fighter friend lamented:

"The remnant rulers try to keep Pak Jung Hi's wicked setup on the plea of stabilization, covering up all the evil deeds done so far. To a foreign reporter the US embassy suggested Choe Gyu Ha and then Kim Jong Pil as the presidential candidate. As the reporter offered no comment, it took back its words saying Kim is good for nothing as he is too much corrupt and uncertain ideologically. The US can't see through the reactions here though it may observe them by hoisting an ad balloon. Its failure in Iran proves this. The US is sure to help the remnants prolong their days. Then the people will rise up again. A great crisis will come. The military will come to power again. Knowing no economy and politics they will merely shout and threaten. I fear they should spell ruin to us."

By such closed-door Court politics the people shall never be free from this fear. Now those in the secret chamber are trampling upon the will of the

people, training guns on their hearts. Don't they know what a dreadful result their petty tricks will bring about? If they are to open a new history they ought to put faith in the people and take a frank-and-easy attitude towards them. But, to my great worry, they seem to be making irreparable blunders.

WE DON'T APPROVE REMNANTS' RULE

Nov. 17, 1979

We feel most uneasy about the fact that Kim Dae Jung is kept under house confinement. But there is not without a shred of an optimistic hope for advance, even a little, towards democracy as the trends of history. In effect, in the national assembly the Yusin Administration Council members appointed by the President will lose all their power. Even the Republican Party must display vacillation more or less, because of its guilty conscience and prestige. It is said that national assembly chairman Paek Du Jin from the Council for Yusin Administration is already going to resign his post instead of taking the chair. As for acting Republican Party chief Pak Jun Gyu who had been wielding authority within the ruling party, he had to remain mute even before his ordinary party member who complained: "We're this way because of the fellows like you." Kim Hyon Ok, the former Seoul mayor who had once held sway over the whole city, is said to have been apprehended while trying to flee abroad sensing a danger to his personal safety.

A rumour is passed around that a fairly conscientious force inside the military is working behind the present government. So, some people insist that it will not do to disbelieve the military totally. According to them, those conscientious force in the military say they will be unable to convince the people before abolishing the Yusin system, root and branch. In this context, my reporter friend observed:

“The military is still in a state of fluidity, I think. A rumour spreads that as there are a considerable number of diehards inside the US military, the State Department is rather going to control them and pursue soft democracy. The reason is that the army has been made a private possession to prolong the unfair political rule and its combat power has been weakened by drawing it into unfair politics. In our opinion too, it is so, indeed. Therefore, some people think that the military of south Korea too must not meddle in politics and that the Yusin system must be thoroughly abolished. They, I think, will be very happy if the people lay bare all the guilts of the Republican Party in the future. There is a possibility for the roundup of Choe Gyu Ha, Kim Jong Pil and the like.”

Under the present situation of south Korea no one can see ahead clearly. But it is plain that if the remnants or the confederates are allowed to keep the ruling position, the people will be greatly disappointed with the US. If the present situation remains unchanged, the Carter Administration putting up human rights and democracy as its idea, will be blamed for trying to hush the voice of the south Korean people through the confederates, far from helping in their efforts for democracy just when they have seized such a good chance through their hard-fought struggle. My friend said that this would inevitably

give rise to anti-US sentiments among the democratic champions opposed to the system. What is being claimed by those opposed to the system does not appear in the newspapers at all. But it is made public anyway, defying the Martial Law Commander's warning against "reckless political agitation" and his threatening taboo on "rash action". At last on November 12 the "National Federation for Democracy and National Unity" (NFDNU) issued a statement under the joint names of Yun Bo Son, Kim Dae Jung, Ham Sok Hon and Ryang Il Dong. It criticized Choe Gyu Ha's November 10 statement that the Autonomous National Congress for Unification, the tool of presidential election under the Yusin Constitution, would be used again in the coming presidential election. Their statement begins with this passage:

"No deception or violence can break the people's democratic will which is flowing in a broad expanse through history. Our silence displayed when the funeral of the dictator was conducted gilding him with magnified and distorted words was a posture we deliberately assumed in the hope of greeting a new era of democracy."

Meanwhile, Choe Gyu Ha's statement was "no more than an expression of the intentions to maintain the rights obtained within the structure of injustice and corruption in any case on the plea of order and stability. There were thus the demands for the institution of a democratic constitution, the resignation of acting President Choe Gyu Ha, the formation of a national democratic Cabinet, the immediate release of the political prisoners, the restoration of press freedom and the lifting of martial law.

The next day the Dismissed Professors' Council, Free Lance Literary Men's Council, Struggle Committee for the Defence of Tonga Free Press, Strug-

gle Committee for the Defence of Choson Free Press, Democratic Youth Council and many other democratic movement organizations which have so far fought valorously defying imprisonment and torture, issued a joint statement entitled "For the Democratization of the Country". Here they supported in principle the statement of the NFDNU and demanded the restoration of democracy and human rights and the withdrawal of Emergency Decree No. 9 and martial law. On November 15 the Hanguk Christian Youth Council composed of youth associations of many religious bodies, using the biblical quotation, "He who lives by the sword shall die by the sword," reproached the present Cabinet for its complete lack of sense of responsibility for the current bad situation and condemned its talk about the presidential election by use of the Autonomous National Congress for Unification as a scheme to extend the Yusin dictatorial system. It supported the statement of the NFDNU.

If this movement makes a brisk headway, resistance may grow in scope even in a state of siege. And this movement of the minority may spread among the people faster than before. The people are practising patience in order not to lose what they have now, though trifling. They may rise up again if the corrupt remnants keep ruling them. Will the military which has allegedly hoped for a democratic civil government take hands with the evil political force and wield the bayonet again? Then they will have to give the definite answer for the security of the country they have advocated so far. A force backing the corrupt force cannot be faithful. It is no more than a brutal force which cannot enjoy people's support. For this reason, the military might have ordered the government to quicken the political schedule. Thus, on November 15 it stated that the presidential election would be held in early December and that the political prisoners would be released. Those in

the government too will be by no means easy to prolong their days. Today my friend related to the church affairs told me about the movement of the church side:

“As the Martial Law Command banned a meeting, the church side doesn’t have its meeting today, but issues instead a statement, ‘Our Stand toward the Present Situation’, in the name of 30 leading priests. Among these 30 are some very conservative leaders who are outside the Christian Council. The statement claimed for democracy and division of the three powers and demanded the present Cabinet to take responsibility for the current state of affairs and publish its schedule for the restoration of democracy. In the future, I think, it will issue another statement disapproving the Autonomous National Congress for Unification, the legacy of the Yusin system, The Conscientious Offenders’ Families Council too sent a letter to Choe Gyu Ha to the effect that if he was to get support at home and abroad he should release the detainees, to begin with, before attending to the work for political development. Because of such statement 11 persons were walked off on charge of violating martial law. They seem not to have been handled so roughly as done by the KCIA. They are said to be set free today. I have been to Masan recently. The people there were still in high spirits. They said: ‘If things do not turn out as we wish we will go into action again. We still have those corrupt elements in the upper echelon. It’s simply intolerable.’ It meant they could not permit the remnants’ rule.”

Introducing the corrupt way of life of Kim Jong Pil, a remnants’ accomplice, the same friend remarked:

“Hadn’t he been the symbol of corruption under

the Pak regime since the 1961 coup? Wasn't he banished due to the cause of the fluctuation of securities in 1962; the Japan-make-"Saenara"-automobile scandal and the three-powder profiteering case in 1964 and many other successive malfeasances? The people remember all this. Though it is said that the Kim Jong Pil-Ohira memorandum paved the way to compromise at the time of the ROK-Japan talks, I hear, a huge sum of money changed hands in that case too. A rumour has it that a positive proof of it obtained by a foreign agency has now been passed into the hands of the south Korean military. It is said that this time he had the cheek to dream of the provisional presidency at the Autonomous National Congress for Unification, but was curbed."

My friend added that the harder the remnants tried to seize the power, the deeper the political crisis would become.

MYONGDONG YWCA CASE

Dec. 4, 1979

An extraordinary event occurred on November 24 at the YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association) in Myongdong, Seoul. A national meeting was held there in the guise of a wedding ceremony. It was a well-designed meeting aimed to oppose and check the presidential election through the Autonomous National Congress for Unification (ANCU). Some one thousand people gathered there in the

name of celebrating the wedding of Hong Song Hwa, a steering committee member of the Democratic Youth Council, who was imprisoned more than once, to a fictitious bride named Miss Yun. No small number of the participants took it for the real wedding, though many came knowing it was a sham function.

The wedding was announced on the previous day at the Friday prayer meeting. It was due at 5:30 p.m. With the announcement of its 10-minute delay, the bridegroom entered the hall at 5:40 p.m. The moment there was a giggle in a corner of the hall.

The officiant apologetically said that national meeting could not have been convened by any but that method. Then he announced that Ham Sok Hon would chair the national meeting. Pak Jong Tae, former assemblyman from the Republican Party who had been expelled from the national assembly for his opposition to Pak Jung Hi's third-term office, read the "people's declaration for curbing the presidential election through the ANCU" which runs as follows:

Occasioned by the Pusan and Masan popular uprisings and by their by-product, the October 26 incident, the ardent aspiration of the entire people after democracy is now rising high like flames. At this grim historical moment when the final victory of the bloody struggle waged for the restoration of democracy in resolute opposition to the 18-year-long dictatorship is just ahead of us, we gathered here today to smash the detestable plot of the Yusin remnants who, still unawakened from their silly dream, are scheming to prolong the Yusin dictatorship on such deceptive political schedule as "constitutional revision after presidential election" and to promote the national awakening and efforts for the sure guarantee of victory of the human rights.

The companions of the late dictator are hatching every conceivable plot to extend the Yusin dictator-

ship, forgetting that their way to meeting the requirements of the times lies in retiring from their position after atoning for their past crimes. What does it mean by electing the President through the ANCU, a bastard of the Yusin dictatorship, asserting that it accords with the Constitution?

It is only aimed at conducting deceptive constitutional revision and general election at the time (latest possible) when Kim Jong Pil, Choe Gyu Ha and the like think it feasible to seize power by dispelling the fervent aspiration of the people for democracy and repressing them with the newly sharpened sword of devilish dictatorship after taking over the traditions of the Yusin system by electing the President through the ANCU. As for Choe Gyu Ha informally designated as the President, he is the very character who sometime ago branded the Pusan and Masan popular uprisings as benefitting the enemy and who on the very eve of the October 26 incident openly declared: "Yusin is the only way to living". As is known to all, he is one of the leading characters of the Yusin dictatorship. As the vanguard of the Yusin remnants Choe Gyu Ha avowed that if he was secured absolute power for five years as Yusin President he would abolish the Yusin system quickly, establish a democratic constitutional government and faithfully lead the general election in a strictly neutral posture. But who will believe these words of his?

In the final analysis, the political schedule of the Kim-Choe system is neither that for a democratic constitutional government in essence nor that for stability, unity and order on their lips. It is too clear that the longer the transitional period, the greater the political, economic and social instability and confusion and the national disunity. Therefore, the plan for presidential election through the Autonomous National Congress for Unification is anti-dem-

ocratic, anti-popular, anti-national and anti-patriotic one for maintaining their corrupt privileged rule to the end.

We are closely watching the impending presidential election through the ANCU, regarding it as the great cross-roads of advance towards the restoration of democracy or a return to the Yusin dictatorship in our national history. Any idle dream or illusion at this important juncture will bring irreparable calamities to the national history. It is our bounden duty to smash the presidential election through the ANCU determinedly by awakening and uniting the whole people.

Here we plainly warn that if the Kim-Choe system sticks to the ruinous political schedule and forces the presidential election through the ANCU upon us, we will arouse the entire people to the struggle for democracy, smash the anachronistic fraudulence and sweep away the remnants of the Yusin dictatorship.

Resolution

1. We fully support the November 12 statement of the NFDNU issued to save the present situation without causing confusion and welcome the formation of a national democratic Cabinet embracing all the democratic forces.

2. For national amity and unity we demand the Kim-Choe system to take the following measures:

- 1) to repeal its plan for presidential election through the ANCU;
- 2) to frankly admit before the people that the enforcement of the Yusin system was a historic fault that destroyed the democratic constitution and reversed the righteous march of the national history;
- 3) to willingly dissolve the Council for Yusin

Administration, the Republican Party and the ANCU and exercise self-control.

3. In order to carry out our demands, we declare the period from the present moment to November 30 to be that of the first national resistance for democracy; in order to express the resolute opposition of the entire people to the game of fraudulent presidential election through the ANCU, we will gather on the crossroads at the Seoul Kwanghwa Gate and on the central streets of the major local cities at 6:00 p.m. on November 28, 29 and 30 and hold mass meetings to frustrate the presidential election through the ANCU.

The Yusin remnants, retire!

Resolutely oppose the presidential election through the ANCU!

Establish a national democratic Cabinet!

Nov. 24, 1979

The national meeting against the presidential election through the ANCU

Chairman of the meeting: Ham Sok Hon
Preparatory committee members: Kim Byong Gol, Kim Sung Hun, Pak Jong Tae, Paek Gi Wan, Yang Sun Sil and Rim Chae Jong

This statement can be said to be most glaringly exposing the intentions of those in power resorting to the remnants' rule. That national meeting elected 54 executive members representing the dismissed professors, religious bodies, the Fellowship Association for Constitutional Government, men of letters, the Young Men's Christian Association and the Democratic Youth Council for Human Rights. It was the united front of the democratic forces.

At around 6:00 p.m. scores of men of the third riot unit of the Seoul police broke into the YWCA hall, dragged out dozens of men and women including Ham Sok Hon and escorted them to the police station. Some 50 young men got out of the scene of violence, gathered before the Cosmos Department Store at the entrance to Myongdong Street and marched 500 metres in a scrum-like formation, shouting: "Abolish the Yusin system! Down with the dictatorship!" Twenty of them were arrested by the riot police at the crossroads near the Kwanghwa Gate. Meanwhile, at around 7:30 p.m. students and families of the detainees launched a demonstration in darkness before the Hwasin Department Store on Chongno Street. Over thirty demonstrators were rounded up. The Martial Law Command made public that 96 people were walked off on November 26. But more than 110 are now in prison.

The second national meeting issued the "national declaration for curbing the presidential election through the ANCU" and the "statement for the formation of a national democratic Cabinet".

The prospectus of the meeting read in part: "It's high time to give up a foolish hope and object. A new era cannot be opened by the hands of the corrupt elements, and the extension of the Yusin system for its abolishment is absurd and quite impermissible. Let's renew our indignation and break the last link in the rusty chains of dictatorship!" The statement calling for the formation of a national democratic Cabinet demanded the total abolishment of the Yusin system and the political schedule—"constitutional revision—general election—establishment of a democratic government". It also claimed for passing judgment on the "anti-popular, corrupt privileged elements", which has nothing to do with "political reprisal". They included Kim Jong Pil, Li Hu Rak and others inside the government and Li Chol Sung

who tried to bring the New Democratic Party under the government control. They also included such pressmen as Son U Hwi and Li Dong Uk, and Chong Ju Yong from Modern Construction, President of the National Economic Federation, and Kim Yong Tae of the government-patronized trade union.

The statement condemned the military for helping the corrupt forces to prolong their days virtually under the name of "political neutrality" and demanded the formation of a national democratic Cabinet. In protest against the interference of the outside force, probably alluding to the US, it stated:

We reject all the intervention of the outside force in the affair of democratizing our country. There cannot be a foreign country or a foreigner who knows better than us about how to democratize our country and through which course. We are fully determined and able to promote democracy without any other's interference, taking a pride in our being an independent nation. All the outside forces should refrain from any speech and behaviour that support the Yusin remnants or help in their plot for the prolonged Yusin dictatorship.

This statement must be based on the deep reflections on the fact that ever since 1945 the destiny of south Korea has been swayed by the military and political interests of the US and that its people has been repressed by the anti-popular power with the US backing.

Anyway, occasioned by the YWCA incident in Myongdong, the democratic forces at last came into head-on collision with the military, the Martial Law Command. It can be said to have been a demonstration mounted to sound out the real intentions of the military and make out which section of it is resorting to strong-arm politics. It fully demonstrated the

might of the democratic forces which did not yield to imprisonment and torture. Now it has become clear that the military is the reactionary force whose iron rule is order and conservatism. It is no more than a brutal force which, wielding its legal authority, openly intervenes in the politics facing a crisis. Its core is the Army Security Command headed by Major General Chon Du Hwan. They are a cruel gang surpassing human imagination.

We must say a dreadful, sad history has started with the confrontation between the democratic forces and the military. The "political neutrality" advocated by the military is the deceptive words for helping the remnants to extend their corrupt rule. The people will see this clearer as the days go by.

TORTURE UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Dec. 4, 1979

November 27 is the tenth anniversary of the inauguration of the Hanguk Student Christian Federation as a synthetic body of the student Christian organizations. An application was made to the Martial Law Command one month before for an official sanction of the commemorative meeting. But there had been no answer. On the very morning of the anniversary came a notice of disapproval without giving any reason. In the afternoon the riot police laid siege to the Christian building and did not let anyone in. At around 6:00 p.m. more than 60 students and over 80 families of the arrested who had gathered in the

morning in the office of the Student Christian Federation on the seventh floor were coming down to the hall on the second floor. But their way being blocked by army men of the Martial Law Command, they went up back to the office on the seventh floor and sang hymns. At around 8:00 p.m. the riot police intruded into office, smashing the windowpanes, and fought with the students. This situation lasted till 11:45 p.m. when the martial law forces came in two separate trucks, broke the door and took off all the students there. The office furniture were wantonly destroyed by the soldiers. That day 61 people including General Secretary An Jae Ung of the Student Christian Federation (SCF) were walked off. On November 30 Han Wan Sang, Chief Director of the SCF and ex-Professor of Sociology of Seoul University, was taken to. While walking off the students, the soldiers kicked them with their military boots. In connection with this incident, 9 people are now detained and 10 locked up.

The resistance struggle shows a sign of overall expansion since the Myongdong YWCA incident on November 24. On November 28 there was also a clash between the democratic forces and the police at the YWCA hall in Kwangju, South Cholla Province. A "citizens' meeting for smashing the presidential election through the ANCU" was held there under the joint auspices of the Kwangju Christian Federation, the Catholic Priests' Corps for the Realization of Justice, the Chonnam Dismissed Professors Council, the Chonnam Branch of the Free-Lance Literary Men's Council, the Chonnam Branch of the Democratic Youth Council, and the Chonnam Youth Federation of the Hanguk Christian Elders Association. The meeting issued a statement entitled, "Let's Advance Vigorously towards Democracy!" On November 30 2,000 students of Chonnam University staged a demonstration in demand of the democratization

of campuses, shouting, "We oppose the presidential election through the ANCU!" They issued the "declaration of democratic students", strongly appealing to the people to rise up again in the democratic struggle. Nineteen people including three pastors were apprehended in the Kwangju YWCA case too. Among them, it is said, is writer Hwang Chol Yong renowned for his masterpiece Chang Gil San. On December 3 when 100 students of Sogang University in Seoul assembled on the campus to mount a demonstration, 5,000 policemen surrounded the university and its perimeter.

Under such circumstances Martial Law Commander Chong Sung Hwa interviewed with newspaper publishers, editorial department directors and reporters several times and revealed at last the real nature of "political neutrality" of the military authorities. For instance, in his talk with newspaper publishers between 11:30 and 13:10 on November 28, he first denied his involvement in Pak's assassination and then related to this effect:

Sullied forces are behind the latest resistance struggles. It is a communist practice that 0.1 per cent tries to lead 99.9 per cent. This is an impermissible act reminding us of Vietnam.

The students think it heroic to set themselves up against the power. But their claim goes beyond the bounds of campus freedom to the opposition to the government. This is impermissible under the present legal system.

The World Church Council (WCC) sings in praise of communism and helps in the students' movement by sending a huge amount of funds to the Hanguk Christian Council. It also abets the young woman workers under the name of industrial missionary work.

The Emergency Decrees will be lifted. But south

Koreans are impetuous. They ought to wait for what the government does.

The Yusin Constitution has been needed so far. But at last the days have passed when the hero led us. The new President will revise the Constitution. It may take one year or two, not as long as four years, I think. But in the light of the things going on in the national assembly, there is no likelihood of its early settlement. They will reach an agreement when done up with their quarrelling.

This is not a revolution. It may be likened to a traffic accident to the President. As there was an accident, it is now under examination. If law and order are not observed, there's no other way but to rule over by force.

The press must exercise patience while it is under martial law.

Just as a person engaged in the communist movement cannot become an army officer, so an unreliable person (alluding to Kim Dae Jung) cannot become the head of state. If the people don't know this point, it must be made known. In other countries a kind of that person loses political integrity. But in our country he rather rises in popularity. Wherever else is such a country as ours?

I only abide by the existing law. Time is needed to assess the merits and demerits of what Pak Jung Hi did while in power.

Americans were helpful. Informed of the accident, they quickly let it known to their country and made every possible effort for the stability of the south Korean economy at meetings on credit and other economic problems. In contrast, the Japanese are exercising great caution against their possible loss. Afterwards, however, we did not meet Americans too. There must be many US CIA agents among them. We must be careful.

The north has launched a peace offensive. Its

army is superior to ours. A crisis may come in March next year.

As for the economic offenders, there is no law forcing the big profiteers to throw up what they had raked in. I can't break law in advance of others.

There are some who are scheming to attain socialist purposes by causing a social chaos. They employ a crafty method outside the reach of the law.

I'm unselfish by nature and so can't take up politics. I'm even told that I shall starve to death if I leave the army.

The army (hearing that the army has left a bad impression behind in connection with the Pusan incident) is a group exercising violence. Police is persuasive, but the army is different. Once the army intervened in that case, that much was a natural thing to be expected. The best policy is not to bring things to such a pass where the army has to go into action.

This statement is purposely passed around with the circulation of a 7-page pamphlet entitled "Talks with Chief of the General Staff" In its immature contents, the military authorities suggest violence and blackmail. Democracy, human rights and north-south dialogue mean nothing to them. Pak Jung Hi is dead, but his violence is alive. Worse still, they are to rule the government from now on. The actual talks are said to have been more threatening than the contents of the pamphlet. Concerning Kim Yong Sam and the New Democratic Party, it is said, the Martial Law Commander stated that they had better not misjudge in raising a dust as if a people's revolution had broken out. As to Kim Dae Jung he even blurted that Kim had been related to communism in his youthhood and made contacts with the north through a north-backing organization abroad.

In face of such military authorities how should

the democratic forces act? There are different comments on the November 24 YWCA case in Myong-dong. My friend related to the democratic movement said:

"In actuality, I hear, the military authorities worked in many ways, hoping a kind of that incident would occur. For instance, they sent an army man of suspicious character to Yun Bo Son to say that the conscientious officers of field grade would be against the freezing of the stifling situation. The military authorities figured that this gesture would help persuade the people anxious for stability into realizing the validity of their tough policy. It was also designed to suggest that democratic measures should be put off to stave off social chaos. So there is an opinion that the democratic forces were late for action. Before the national funeral of Pak Jung Hi, they should have shouted at the top of their voice that his was the death of the dictator and the traitor to the nation. In fact, that voice was repressed even among the democratic forces themselves at that time. But as time flows the system will be hardened. Pak Jung Hi too was a nameless, powerless man when he came on the scene at the time of the 1961 military coup. Then he gained his foothold while raising hopes among the people and bribing or repressing the opposition figures. Now his remnants are building up their system while giving the people some hopes for democracy, gagging the unbelievers, setting the hired press organs into motion and suppressing the opposition elements. It is said that under such situation a resistance must be organized quickly. I'm of the same opinion. Indescribably cruel was the torture inflicted upon those arrested this time, I hear. It outstripped by far that used by the KCIA at the time of the Pak regime. The democratic forces should pay heed to

this point too and reexamine everything from a new angle."

The number of the people apprehended in the recent Myongdong YWCA and SCF cases was greater than in any other cases under the Pak regime. And almost all the opposition figures were detained. Those in power are scheming to crush the opposition forces once for all while passing their words for the abolition of the Emergency Decrees and the release of the arrested to throw their good image on the public at home and abroad. This time they jailed and beat even Ham Sok Hon who had been immune from arrest under the Pak regime. In the past some pastors had been kept out of torture. But this time all of them were tortured till they fainted away. The military has so far tried to cover its anti-democratic nature in face of the people eager for democracy. But now they throw off the mask and say to this effect: What else should we do before you who are creating social disorder? This takes many people aback. Let me introduce the secret testimony of a young man involved in this case:

"Some 20 MPs came in a truck. They forced us to take the truck, kneel down and lower our heads. They brought down the rifle butt on Dr. Kim Yong Bok of the Christian Academy when he raised his head a bit. The blood spurted with a cry of pain. Upon arriving at the Army Security Command in Sobonggo they took our photographs and threw us into the underground chamber. Each MP took charge of one person and, kicking him, made him change into a military uniform and take a pair of rubber shoes. The interrogation room was on the second floor. There were some rogues whose professional task was to beat persons with a bat which was wrapped with something so as not to cause a wound.

One armyman only trampled down with his military boots, another rained blows only on the face and yet another was engaged only in kicking. Beating preceded interrogation. All were knocked unconscious. The army doctor standing nearby would turn up the eyelids of the fainted person and carry him to the hospital. When he came to he was taken again to the torturing chamber. Dr. Kim Yong Bok was beaten hard on the face to get five stitches beneath his eye. He was carried to the hospital when he fainted. But, after lying on bed for some ten minutes, he was taken back and beaten again. He got a serious wound. The torturer was so cruel as to kick at the gash of his body with the military boots. I too found myself lying on hospital bed when I was brought round. My head was a mass of wounds and some were stitched. They kept me awake all night, yelling and kicking. They cried in a stentorian voice: 'Yusin is alive. Its spirit will prevail in the future, too. Killing one or two men like you is of no account.' One of them who declared himself to have been a Pak Jung Hi's guard, kept beating me, saying: 'Do you know how many good things His Excellency had done? You make a row even before a month has hardly passed since his death.'"

The interrogation was very simple after the cruel torture. They put the only one question: On whose order did you go to the YWCA hall? After undergoing the barbarous torture the victims were taken to the special interrogation corps. Among them were writer Li Ho Chol. The rogues kicked him with military boots more than 40 times. The same witness went on:

"This time I had the bitterest experiences as a person who had been imprisoned and tortured many

times under the Pak regime. When we were brought together to stand summary trial, our faces were so swollen from torture that some were hardly distinguishable. One of us suggested that our faces told of torture when we should be tried in a terror-free atmosphere. This suggestion was tossed off, of course. They divided us into two groups and condemned one group to a 20-day detention, the other to a 15-day detention. Then they told us not to tell this fact to any others. The police and intelligence agents seemed to have divided us beforehand as the military authorities didn't know us well. Many friends were battered till they could hardly rise to their feet. Prof. Kim Byong Gol (literary and art critic) too went faint. Mr. Paek Gi Wan is now in a hospital."

It was really a thrice-cursed scene. The scenarist was the very Army Security Command under the command of Maj. Gen. Chon Du Hwan. They say these villains are now holding the real power in the military. Horrible! Hearing of this, my friend added:

"Those arrested recently are all scattered in many places. The Army Security Command is most unsparing while the police is rather gentle. They are a gang of cutthroats. They seem to separate the Protestant and the Catholic. They are not so harsh towards the Catholic. A father is appointed as Martial Law Commander Chong's advisor outside the organization of the army. The Protestant pastors had a hard time of it."

It seems that the military is now employing every possible means to keep up the remnants' rule with greater zeal than at the time of Pak Jung Hi. Through the recent incidents, the democratic forces

must have clearly seen who are the enemy of the nation and people. The hopes for the army have burst like soap bubbles. They are the masked wolves. So far they have intentionally spread the words that there is no need to feel uneasy since everything would go better. The democratic forces, however, will never break up. Nor will they give in. If the military increases its brutal force, the democratic forces, too, would follow a tough policy.

Like Pak Jung Hi they may inflict pain upon the democratic forces with overaction. But the story of sufferings will spread to the masses gradually even though the mass media are reduced to silence. Then the indignation of the people will go off with force. This is a bitter thing, but we have no other alternative. The resolution of the minor sufferers drives the wicked rulers into ruthless suppression. This brings about the situation which the cruel foolish rulers do not in the least expect. The death of Pak Jung Hi was a case of it. Is our history of advance towards democracy so harsh? As if blowing off the gloomy air that settled upon the hearts of people around, my friend said with a forced smile:

“Every wedding ceremony will take place in the presence of army men in the future. In case of a funeral they may open the lid of the coffin to confirm the corpse.”

This remark moved all to laughter. But it was a doleful laughter. Virtuous persons always picture a bright future to themselves, while the devils arrange dark days unimaginable to them. Deceived in their expectation, the former grit their teeth. Ironical word is flying about that the Choe Gyu Ha system is the Kim Jong Pil-Choe Gyu Ha system or the “Kim-Choe Jung Hi system” To my ear came a murmur that how long the assemblymen

from Kim Yong Sam's New Democratic Party would receive the present treatment. A storm of reaction will roar. They will hang on their throne to the death. For they are "small Pak Jung His". This may be the truth confirmed by the latest resistance struggles.

REACTIONARIES' COUP

Dec. 15, 1979

It was proclaimed on December 6 that Choe Gyu Ha, the only presidential candidate, was elected at the Autonomous National Congress for Unification.

At the midnight of the seventh the Emergency Decree No. 9 was lifted and 68 persons were released. Under the heading, "Path of Freedom, Emotional Reunion", the press gives prominence to this happy occasion together with the photographs of the released. They are national heroes.

Newspapers also reported in a few words that Kim Dae Jung was free from house arrest. He is now free to go in and out of his house, but he still has police after him. Getting rid of the house arrest, he met reporters and told them many things, but newspapers did not deal with them at all. His autograph statement made that day is now in my hands. Its first line reads: "Let's achieve national amity and unity under an agreement for the early establishment of a democratic government!" Kim first expressed his regret at the plight of those who were still in prison. As the "path for us to

follow", he proposed the early establishment of a democratic government, the realization of national amity and unity for state security and rebuilding, the guarantee of human rights, the guarantee of the freedom of press and political activities, the establishment of a civil economic system, the maintenance of solid friendship with democratic, fraternal countries, etc.

He asked Choe Gyu Ha to release the remaining political prisoners, publicize the schedule for democratic measures, organize a neutral Cabinet, lift martial law forthwith and establish a national consultative council for democracy.

Writings of opposition intellectuals start to appear in newspapers, a practice that has so far been under a ban. Using the mildest term, they ask a new government for democratic measures. Papers also deal with the problem of constitutional revision. Only now is it possible to write down the students' demonstrations and their imprisonment in the diary, "1,669 days and 9 hours under the Emergency Decree No. 9". The news of the expelled professors found its way into the press. It is said that the expelled professors and students will return to the campuses in the coming spring. A rumour is afloat that those of Chonnam University in Kwangju, South Cholla Province, declared they would not return to the campus so long as its reptile professors do not resign or reflect on their misconducts. A friend of mine said rather an unusual era seemed to have been ushered in. He added:

"Now is an era when everyone pretends to be a liberal democrat. Those who faithfully served the Pak regime are taking the lead in advocating the democratization of campus. They appear to think this is the very way to prolong their remaining days. Even Kim Jong Pil declares himself to be

a liberal democrat by nature. The person who was the first Chief of the KCIA, the central figure involved in so many scandals, and the making-money-first-policy politician under the 18-odd-year-long Pak regime. Now this man reportedly alleges that he opposed the constitutional revision for the third term office in 1969 and the Yusin Constitution in 1972, though he held the seat of Prime Minister. And newspapers report that he contributed a meadow extending as broad as 6,429,000 *pyong* to his Scholarship Foundation. But popular criticism belies this report. They say he had been pinned down by the military as he was quick to make contacts with the opposition politicians and army men. So far he has used the power of money wherever he went. It is also said that he even destroyed evidence after receiving political funds from Japanese Kishi. Quite recently, sensing an imminent danger to his fortune, he shipped a huge sum of money abroad. Knowing this, it is said, the military put pressure on him to return it to the state. What is more amusing is a rumour that imprisoned Kim Jae Gyu told his defender: 'I wish to be free even only for three months. Then I will fix those biggest scoundrels—Kim Jong Pil, Li Hu Rak, ex-Chief of the KCIA, and Pak Jong Gyu, former Blue House Security Chief.' "

For all these fresh trends of the times, however, the people are by no means free from a haunting suspicion that some dreadful blueprint may be in the making even now. Such national suspicion is reflected in the November 28 statement of the Hanguk Catholic Committee for Justice and Purification, entitled "Our Stand for the Establishment of a Righteous Constitutional Government", which insists: "Strategic proceedings are unnecessary in realizing justice."

The Democratic Youth Council organized with the former young prisoners pointed out on December 9 the fact that non-democracy is prevailing inside the power which brandishes democracy in show. As a striking illustration of it, they cited the bestial torture put by the authorities to those involved in the November 24 YWCA case in Myongdong. They asked why the intellectuals should have been tortured till they went faint and got serious wounds simply because they had expressed their wish for democracy. They questioned what kind of democracy on earth that was. They demanded that martial law be lifted and the general election be held within five months. They also strongly demanded the nullification of political trials under dictatorship and the fair trial of Kim Jae Gyu. The former President Yun Bo Son issued a personal statement on December 12, demanding the release of Kim Ji Ha and others and protesting against the YWCA case.

Amid such national unrest and suspicion, 1,000 students of Chonbuk University in Chonju, North Cholla Province, mounted a big demonstration at last on December 5. It is said that they called together and condemned the venal professors, set fire to the rector's room and raided the house of Li Chol Sung, former NDP head, who had tried to place the NDP under the government control. The demonstration occurred in demand of the release of the imprisoned students and the democratization of campus. But more importantly, it was an expression of the indignation at the Pak Jung Hi system still struggling for existence. The following phrase of their "democratic student declaration" is an eloquent proof of it:

"Look at those atrocities of the Yusin remnants! Following the October 26 incident, faithful Yusin remnants Kim Jong Pil and Choe Gyu Ha are again

sharpening the sword of dictatorship by cashing in on the modest wishes of the people for order and security, far from repenting in the least of their crimes before the people, and are scheming to carry out the fraudulent constitutional revision and general election at a time when they think it possible to come back to power again."

Thus, many people start worrying again over the coming spring. This time too, a fire may break out first at the campus beset with contradictions and spread to the people who are tormented by the worsened economic conditions. Therefore, everyone feels the need of the quick restoration of democracy, but the remnant forces fear it most. They seem to think only if they are afforded plenty of time can they recover their ruling system. But will things really go like that? It means the recovery of the system where bribery, blackmail and suppression proper to the KCIA will prevail. No doubt, it will only cause a terrible crisis again far from settling the matter. A government enjoying the overwhelming support of people alone can save the present situation. Such a government alone can expect cooperation from people.

Another event occurred to dash cold water over the heads of the people, upsetting their expectations. On December 12 the Army Security Commander Chon Du Hwan arrested the Martial Law Commander Chong Sung Hwa. And the Vice-Chief of the Army General Staff who has also acted for the KCIA Chief became the Chief of the Army General Staff to occupy the seat of the Martial Law Commander.

This was a shocking event. It blew away the popular voice that democracy was brewing in peace and quiet. It dismayed and enraged the people who had been naive enough to believe the political neu-

trality of the military and even to look forward to a bright future. Now the military has turned out to be an unbelievable gang of the brutal force. It is impossible to leave state security to this gang. How can they promote democracy? An inky shadow has rested on the hearts of the people. It is said that besides General Chong Sung Hwa, 9-15 generals at least including the Special War Corps Commander, Capital Garrison Commander, Provost Marshal, Director of the Army Personnel Affairs Bureau, Director of the Munitions Bureau, Director of the Operation Bureau, Third Army Corps Commander and Thirtieth Divisional Commander were rounded up and divested of their military uniforms. This was indeed a military coup of reactionaries. It was staged by the generals, the regular first-term graduates from the Military Academy, represented by the Army Security Commander Chon Du Hwan and the Ninth Divisional Commander Ro Tae U. The new Chief of the General Staff Li Hui Song is said to be Chon Du Hwan's brother-in-law while the Ninth Divisional Commander Ro is a brother-in-law of his backer, the First Army Corps Commander. Hence, it is even called a nepotic military coup. It has been informally arranged that Ro Tae U should become the Capital Garrison Commander and men of the Chon Du Hwan faction should succeed the First and Third Army Corps Commanders.

Concerning this incident, my reporter friend related this story:

"It may be said to be a revolt of the royal guards. Not all the generals promoted from the regular first-term graduates of the Military Academy are united as one. There are two first-term graduates among the arrested. And although there is much talk about the graduates of the Military Academy, two-thirds of the army officers are not

its graduates. Most of those who staged the coup this time are the very politicized elements who received handsome treatment from Pak Jung Hi while serving at the Capital Garrison Command or the Blue House Security Office. When Pak Jung Hi was killed they must have feared of their possible ruin. It may be said that most of the generals were politicized and corrupt under Pak Jung Hi. Chong Sung Hwa was not an able general though he was upright. He is said to have no record of military feats in the Korean war. A dictator fears an able, intelligent general. Some 40 generals have been promoted in the wake of the recent incident. All of them hailed from Kyongsang Province like Chon Du Hwan. It is the very succession to the age of Pak Jung Hi. The officers of field grade are all discontented with this. Some of them may retain a revolutionary conscience. When Pak Jung Hi had become a general he had made people mainly from Kyongsang Province his confidants, but failed to put his hand to officers of field grade. Chong Sung Hwa believed Li Hui Song to be faithful to him because he had promoted Li to Vice-Chief of the General Staff. So, he seemed to have thought this time that Li's dispatch to the KCIA would mean his seizure of the backbone of power. As for Li Hui Song, he was rather satisfied with his being the acting KCIA Chief, saying he would not put off the army uniform even if he became the KCIA Chief."

A friend related to the democratic movement said confidently:

"It is no more than a fight among the doomed mortals in the same boat. No one can arrest the mighty current of democracy. They are now engrossed in keeping their own seats. How can they dis-

play their political ability, if any? The military has lost its credit because of its inner scramble. This may rather be favourable for the development of the democratic movement in the future. There can be no democracy when the army is absolutized. They have revealed that the military itself cannot command the army. The true power is but a political power enjoying the democratic support of the people. By lack of this power, the military rends to pieces. The recent incident proved this. And it also exposed how incompetent Choe Gyu Ha is. When Cha Ji Chol's men came to him and requested him to bury Cha's body in the state cemetery at the time of Pak's assassination; Choe shrank in fear and conceded to that outright request though those rogues were arrested later by the Martial Law Command and his consent was cancelled. Choe is a character who may obey any armed person from the military to spare his own life. Therefore, we are in a position to appeal to the public at home and abroad that the path of true democracy alone is the way to save the country, aren't we?"

His opinion was clear. In face of the setbacks of the so-called military policy pursued by Pak Jung Hi, the people are now longing for democracy. Impermissible is the participation of the diehard armymen in politics. Things are now quite different from those when the people wanted a military government because of the unsuccessful civilian government. The army must not hold political power now. The people want the army to remain as it is. And the army of this country is not entitled to open fire on the people who rise in righteous resistance. The people believe that those discharging their guns shall go to ruin. Saying thus, the same friend added that the overaction on the part of power is to lead it to collapse. He who lives by the

sword shall die by the sword. Now the military of south Korea is weakening itself by its sword in betrayal of the people's faith. It will only undermine the political influence of the military and increase the democratic forces. This was my friend's conviction. I cannot forget the following words of his:

"Now is different from the time of the April 19, 1960 revolution. Many, many years have rolled by through struggle. Now there are both the idea and the organization for revolution. They gave rise to the Pusan and Masan incidents. Ulsan, an industrial city boasted of by the Pak regime, had been set as the next place of struggle after Masan. Li Hu Rak's house there should have been raided at that time. Then the flames of the revolution were to spread northwards. Many people expelled by Pak Jung Hi are growing into formidable forces. They are the resolute fighters and, at the same time, the political realists who know how to adapt themselves to the reality. They are not merely passive towards the United States too and also know from their experience that they can exercise a strong impact upon the US policy towards south Korea. They are not carried away by the impulse of the moment now like they were at the time of the April 19 Uprising. They know the magnitude of their own ability. There are many leaders who have shared the common sufferings. Some rather tend to socialism, and some others to liberalism. Socialist as they are, however, they do not follow the north. They also know their swaying to the "Leftist" extreme will incur the reaction of the Rightist military. Both, socialist and liberalist, have undergone the same experience and pursue the same aim. Above all, they cooperate, associate and converse with each other as comrades-in-arms. A new era will come soon, I am sure."

He repeated that democracy was the only remedy against chaos. He said they would put up a death-defying resistance if democracy didn't come true, bringing their bloodshed to naught. Only when they, together with the people, set up a genuine government will our country greet a creative, peaceful age.

STILL WEARING THE MASK

Jan. 17, 1980

The political trial held today on January 17 to prosecute the accused suffices to reveal the true mood of the military which allegedly wishes for sound democracy. It was the military trial against 17 personages including ex-President Yun Bo Son and Ham Sok Hon on charge of holding a meeting on November 24 at the YWCA hall in Myongdong in protest against the presidential election through the Autonomous National Congress for Unification. Despite 15 degrees of frost, 300 hearers crowded into the court. The army men there were "kind" enough to show them into a warm room, saying it was cold. But while all were waiting there with a sense of gratitude for their "kindness", the defendants were being prosecuted in another room. They were called out one by one and sentenced to a 2-4 year imprisonment. The press censorship keeps even this fact in the dark.

The military power fears people like this. The army men break up the legal order, not to speak of

democracy. They are ignorant and impudent. Their noise about democracy only makes one feel heavy at heart. It is said that martial law will be kept in force till this May. Needless to say, even that will be so on condition that the opposition forces and students keep silent this spring and meet every wish of the military. If the democratic forces show a sign of movement, the military will declare it to be the creation of 'social unrest and keep martial law indefinitely. Their promise to lift it in May, therefore, is no more than a ruse to force the people into silence in the coming political season and harden their own system according to their political schedule.

Given such situation, numerous rumours are flying about among the people. Newspapers allusively report that wherever people meet, they scratch rumours together and give a show of truth to them. All are unanimous in blaming Chon Du Hwan. According to newspapers, however, the military is siding with him. The Defence Minister too is invariably protecting Chon. He reportedly told foreign journalists that Chon had no reason whatsoever to leave the army since he had arrested those criminals on a presidential order. Giving some reports about Chon, my friend whispered in my ear:

"They say Pak Jung Hi's daughter entreated Chon to avenge the murder of her father. In early December before staging the reactionary military coup, Chon visited Ham Sok Hon and others who were arrested and jailed in the Myongdong YWCA case. Guarded by heavily armed soldiers, he checked how they were treated in prison. After his visit, however, the Army Security Command men became wilder all of a sudden. As to this, Chon gave a transparent lie that it was not his work but the stupid conduct of his men. On the New Year's Day

this year Chon paid visits of respect to opposition leaders. He is professing himself to be a great politician. Another rumour spreads that a secret Chon-centred revolution committee has been formed with generals on active and reserve lists, one or two civilians and a man directly connected with the US military authorities. Its mission is said to 'sweep away' corruption as desired by the people. It is expected to 'expel' Kim Jong Pil and other corrupt elements from the political circles. Therefore, Chon should not be blamed to excess. As he and his men have brought the military under their complete control, the US army too shut its eyes to their reactionary December 12 military coup. It is said that he will soon take a new position to settle down."

Chon Du Hwan probably has already made a plan for prolonging his life. When the whole nation is condemning him so scathingly, it may be difficult for him to show himself in the public eye. My friend added:

"The Pak Jung Hi gang too stood for a clean sweep of immorality and corruption and for the exercise of original politics when they staged the military coup in 1961. But, in order to maintain their power which was not rooted among the people, they joined hands with old corrupt politicians, officials, entrepreneurs, intellectuals and any others serviceable to them. And they could maintain their power only by relying on the brutal force of dictatorship. Now the military is also vociferous in clamouring about clearing away corruption. But as long as they try to stick to power by trampling democracy underfoot they are sure to step into the shoes of the Pak regime, joining hands with those like Kim Jong Pil and corrupt entrepreneurs. They are now keeping themselves in the background because

the feeling of disgust for the military government is running high among the people unlike the occasion of Pak Jung Hi's coming to power in 1961. But their power may be more ominous if it is dormant. To begin with, it may enervate the army itself. It is a horrible thing to contemplate."

It is said that the characters specially planted into Choe Gyu Ha's Cabinet by the Chon Du Hwan faction are Home Minister Kim Jong Hwan who was the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and General Affairs Minister Kim Yong Hyu who was a state vice-minister. This is designed to grasp the whole of the public peace and bureaucratic machinery at home by controlling the home and general affairs. A new Cabinet will go into motion with these two characters and the Defence Minister as the core. Where will they lead the government? At the point of bayonet they are forcing the people to believe that the path they walk is the very path to real democracy.

PRECARIOUS POLITICAL SCHEDULE

Jan. 17, 1980

Entering the 1980's the south Korean economy is having a sharp shake. This may turn the attention of the public to the illicit money grabbers. It is said that the bereaved family of Pak Jung Hi has already been moved to the mansion worth 300 million *won*. On December 28 the Choe regime

stated that it would not call the grafters and traffickers to legal account for their past corrupt practices: It might be aimed at pacifying those who are terror-stricken with the gossip about some drastic measures of the military against them. But the people are displeased with that statement which meant overlooking all the evil practices made under the Pak regime. Should we forgive even those who pounced upon the masses in Pusan and Masan and killed people? Should we cover up the actual facts of the case in which the mass media were mobilized for months in 1975 in advertising the discovery of an oil jet in Yongil Bay? And should those who were expelled from newspaper offices and universities and went through ordeals because they followed the dictates of their conscience, remain as they are now? It is said that the expelled professors and students will be reinstated in the fresh term. But hosts of important figures remain convicted and deprived of citizenship. They are in the same state with Kim Dae Jung. They are unable to return to the campuses. What will become of those who have fought for conscientious press for over five years? No small number of them are the so-called ex-convicts. And many are still behind bars. All these are bound to pose a big problem if the election is held this spring.

Besides, there is the economic problem. Due to the galloping currency inflation, the remnants' system will gradually lose the support of the middle classes. Any effort to prolong the system of the Pak regime on the part of those now in power will land them in a quandary. It is because the ugly nature of the Pak system will be further revealed to be open to public censure. The oil contracts with Iran and Kuwait will expire at the beginning of this year, but there is no likelihood of their renewal. It will cause a 15 per cent drop in the oil supply.

The government too has publicized that the strain on oil supply compels it to disburse 3,200 million dollars additionally this year. But there is no possibility of improving the economic structure and business organization. The Hyundai Construction Group is liable for some one trillion *won* and the Taeu Group some 600,000 million *won* respectively in banking transactions. The same goes for other enterprises with combined firms. It is said that such a financial panic is caused by the authorities which have manipulated the banks taking advantage of their weakness. This means the enterprises have spent funds in league with either the government or the KCIA. Concerning this, my reporter friend remarked:

"This is their way of business. As they could open an account with the export bank once they got an export bill of credit, there was even a case in which they obtained it in conspiracy with Americans and revoked it afterwards. After letting their branch offices in America get such bills of credit, they sent poor goods there to heap up or sell at a loss. Big enterprises have established their branch offices in America and other places in the name of men of influence as a step to escape in case of emergency. The Taeu Group, for instance, has such a branch office in Canada. The Hyundai Construction exhausts every base means to court even the hatred of home enterprises. While trying the same means in the Middle East, it was charged with bribery in Saudi Arabia and is now even unable to place its tender there. Those plutocrats have carried on their business this way in cahoots with those taking the reins of government. They may continue it in the future too. What sort of trade firms have they established? If the people know this, what will become of the coming election? Kim Dae Jung will

not overlook it. Great is his influence on the New Democratic Party. It is even said that if the might of Kim Yong Sam falls short, the tape-recorded voice of Kim Dae Jung shall make it up. That is why he is still exposed to danger under the remnants' rule. Pak Jung Hi's life of immorality is now being brought to light before the public. The testimony of Pak Son Ho, ex-chief of protocol of the KCIA, who was courtmartialled in the case of Pak's assassination, is gaining publicity. Questioned by the public prosecutor what the protocol section was, Pak gave the sarcastic answer: 'It's the remarriage section, sir.' Asked for its meaning, he said that it's the section serving Pak Jung Hi with some ten female singers and actresses every month and that he had been unable to stand it any longer. This made Pak Son Ho's hearing conducted in camera.

"The Christian Academy case has been brought before the appellate court. All, witnesses and defendants, are fair and square. A professor of Seoul University, defense witness, asked, why is it a crime for a person teaching the university to read *The Capital*? The bench staggered at this question. The public prosecutor muttered a few incoherent words before plumping on his chair. The audience burst into a laughter. It may be really hard to regulate this new age with the logic of the Pak Jung Hi's remnants."

At length the government made public its decision on importing 4 million *sok* of rice this year. The green revolution advocated by the Pak regime fell through as well. It is reported that the total of trade with Japan showed an unfavourable balance of 2,966 million dollars as of November last. The trade races along the road of dependence on Japan. The Choe Gyu Ha government had vouched there would never be the devaluation of *won*. But on

January 12 there came its fulminant announcement concerning the push-up of "exchange and interest rates". It was a habitual surprise raid. The rate of *won* to one US dollar soars from 480 to 580. The annual bank interest is 24 per cent. Even according to these rates released by the government, the commodity prices will shoot up over 30 per cent this year. It had been so far reiterated that the new government would build a society where the value of *won* is respectable and that it will never devalue *won* in any case. But it has now turned out to be another black lie which excites popular indignation and disgust. No matter how bitterly the people deplore the "unfaithful trend of the times", those in power will never give up their idea that exercising sovereign power does not mean consulting with the people but befooling them, repressing them and storming them to baffle their expectations. The road ahead of south Korea in the 1980's is really rough and tortuous. But the south Korean people will never lose their hearts but keep growing even while registering many failures at home and abroad.

There is a Korean saying which goes: "A child grows even while suffering from a disease." This may be an optimistic view of our long history which has been developed by our people though along a tortuous path. The scheme of the remnant rulers will be frustrated. It is because unshakable democratic consciousness is smouldering among the people. Fiercer than ever before is their look at the military and the remnant rulers. The democratic forces have become very prudent and strategic. They will not betray any responsive feelings at the whim of the moment. But it is really painful for me to think that those remnants will play havoc with the conscientious people in the future too.

2. GROPING FOR DEMOCRATIZATION

UNDER TORTURE

Feb. 16, 1980

The so-called "South Korean National Liberation Front" case is being tried from February 4, with 73 defendants facing the court. Because of their excessive number, they are divided into groups for a hearing. They are charged with attempting to contact with the north and overthrow the government of the south. They are having a devil of a time at the hands of the present martial law authorities and government which are said to arrest people while releasing political prisoners with the withdrawal of Emergency Decree No. 9.

Besides those 73 defendants, it is said, there are many people who are involved in this case, but are now in the hiding. A large number of anti-government champions are unwarrantably tied up to this case, of whom some are former agents of the KCIA and some others are quite ignorant of this case. Many people consider this case was framed up by Pak Jung Hi's Blue House to get rid of the personages opposed to the Yusin system just on the eve of his assassination on October 26. Those 73 men were captured in the first hunt and another sweeping round-up of the champions opposed to the Yusin system was expected to follow. How will this case be dealt with when there is no longer Pak Jung Hi? Admission tickets for the hearing are limited to one for every defendant.

When will communist charges end in this land? Though the north-south dialogue is advocated, the charge against communism is never relaxed. When will they quit using this as the mightiest weapon for maintaining the impotent and corrupt power?

The Christian circles concerned in the labour movement too have been labelled "Red". And the government instructed its agents to hold lecture meetings throughout the country and make the most of the television and radio media. In face of protest from the churches it had to suspend such activity in the Seoul district, but continued in localities. Pamphlets were distributed and the mass media mobilized. It is a mysterious character named Hong Ji Yong who worked like a beaver, lecturing and writing at the time. A rumour is recently flying about that he seems to have attended the Nakano Army Intelligence School of Japan around 1942. Many people think information about his history can be obtained in Japan. He has so far attached a communist label to the Christians who are opposed to the Yusin system and concerned in the labour movement. Still now he has great influence on the thinking of the military, over which conscientious armymen are lamenting.

On January 25, 17 defendants including Yun Bo Son and Ham Sok Hon were given sentences. They had violated martial law by holding a political meeting at the YWCA hall in Myongdong on November 24 last year under the name of a marriage ceremony. Yun Bo Son was condemned to two years' imprisonment and the others to one to four years' imprisonment. Some of them said that they could rather have a good talk in the course of being examined by the military which regards all opposed to the Yusin system as Reds. It seems that not a few examiners had been alarmed at the fortitude of the young people subjected to severe torture. It was a summary trial handled only in two court sessions to pass sentences

on the accused. Below I introduce some final statements which show the stance and resolve of the fighting people.

Li U Hoe (Chairman of the Democratic Youth Association)

The current emergency martial law is null and void. It is merely aimed at hushing the voices of the people calling for constitutional revision. We must also fight against this emergency martial law which may be called Emergency Decree No. 10, as we have so far combated against the Yusin Constitution. I am deeply ashamed that unable to endure torture, I have made even innocent ex-President Yun Bo Son face this court. My protocol of examination is a record of my fragility and a record of humiliation. We are all innocent since this trial is arranged by force of torture.

Choe Ryol (Vice-chairman of the Democratic Youth Association)

I would like to make this final statement for my mother now in the gallery. Major Gen. Pak Jung Hi staged a military coup on May 16, 1961 when I was a first-grade middle school boy. At the time I was forced to learn by heart what was called the "revolutionary commitment", while cleaning a glass window of my class room. Its substance, I know, was that the army would return to its original mission after fulfilling the revolutionary tasks quickly. On February 17, 1962 he gave his words at the Citizens' Hall that he would transfer power to the civil government. At the inaugural ceremony for Presidency in 1963 he promised that he would change power by peaceful

means during his term of office. When the voices against the constitutional revision mounted higher in the spring of 1969, he said he had no mind to revise the Constitution and stay on the presidential post. Nevertheless, in the deep night of September 14 that year, the government party separately passed the bill for the revision of constitution for the third presidential election secretly at the third annex to the National Assembly Hall. In his campaign speech delivered at Changchungdan Park, Seoul, on April 26, 1971, the day before the presidential election, Pak Jung Hi declared in tears that it would be his last presidential term. The next day we university students watched voting as election inspectors and found many election malpractices.

On October 17, 1972 he suspended the function of the Constitution again, proclaimed emergency martial law, sent tanks to the national assembly, ordered the temporary closure of all universities, and thus forced the so-called Yusin Constitution by dint of tanks and machine guns. It was the second military coup. On October 2, 1973, when a democratic campaign for petitioning constitutional amendment was triggered off by the demonstration of Seoul University students, he issued Emergency Decree No. 1 and court-martialled many democrats. On April 3, 1974 when the students were going to mount a nationwide demonstration he framed up the so-called General Federation of Democratic Youth and Students case and condemned the accused to prison terms ranging from five years at the lowest to life or to death. On May 13, 1975 he proclaimed Emergency Decree No. 9, but on October 26, 1979 he was killed by the hands of the KCIA Chief Kim Jae Gyu.

Now allow me to say about how I, a student of natural science, came out against the presidential election by the Autonomous National Congress for Unification. When there was a hot discussion on the issue

of constitutional revision in 1969, I, availing myself of summer vacation, visited farm, fishing and mountainous villages for 15 days. All the rural inhabitants were against the constitutional revision and the dictatorship and were talking about the last days of the dictator. In response to their voices I organized a campus demonstration against constitutional revision. I deem it my honour to face the court together with Pak Jong Tae and Yang Sun Sik who fought against the constitutional revision for the third term office at that time as assemblymen from the ruling Republican Party. In 1971 military drill was enforced for the control of campus. We held a demonstration against it and published an illegal newspaper. That year the professors issued the Declaration of University Professors, the judicial officers the Declaration of Independence of the Ministry of Justice, and tens of thousands of people in the Kwangju area launched a mass demonstration. As a countermeasure, a Garrison Decree was issued on October 15 and over 180 main figures of universities were drafted into the army by force. On October 26 they left the Ryongsan Railway Station for the Ronsan Training Centre, receiving a send-off from thousands of students. When many students burst into tears, Ham Sok Hon now present here encouraged them by saying, "Let us look up at the sky!"

I greeted what is called Yusin in the army in October 1972. In the national referendum held in mid-November that year, we soldiers cast absentee votes. I had to see many comrades-in-arms casting open votes under the supervision of drill instructors. On the way from the chemical education corps to my army unit I, fully armed, called on Paek Gi Wan, Director of the Paek Bom Institute, who is also here. He gave me his work *On Anti-Japanese Nation*, saying: "You have much trouble. Read this book." I read it avidly even on a snow-laden height in

the cold of 30 degrees below zero at the frontline covered with barbed wire during three years of service. I recalled numerous forerunners who had been sacrificed in the Righteous Volunteers' Army Movement (1896-1906). Thinking that I had enjoyed the privilege of receiving 17-year long education from a kindergarten to a university though many of my comrades-in-arms had only graduated from a primary or a middle school, I resolved myself to repay it to the unfortunate people in the future. While serving in the army, I heard on April 3, 1974 that many fellow students had been sentenced up to death in connection with the GFDYS case. As a young man of 23 I thought about death at that time. Death does not come only to the old in their 60's or 70's, but it may come to me at any hour if I participate in the democratic movement. I was plagued with the thought of whether I could overcome that death. Finally I arrived at one conclusion. Though I'm not a believer, I can die in case my motherland calls me and I have to die.

I was discharged from service on August 15, 1974, when Ryuk Yong Su was shot to death. As my classmates were sentenced to death and lifelong or 15 years' imprisonment, I too joined in the efforts to release them. In February 1975 I graduated from the university when the Student Defence Corps was organized there and its division, regimental, battalion and company commanders were appointed by the government. I thought my juniors could not be left in that situation.

I fought against it after graduation and in June 1975 I was arrested on a charge of violating Emergency Decree No. 9 in connection with the Myongdong Catholic students' case and condemned to six years' imprisonment. I abandoned the right of appeal. I clearly remember the court held at that time. We (22) denied the Yusin Constitution and Emergency Decree No. 9 themselves and rejected the trial, and

8 men even renounced the right of appeal. I lived in prison for 4 years during which I learned much. I thought books and knowledge alone were not enough to enable us to understand the true meaning of freedom. In the second year of my prison life, I was told that I would be let out if I wrote a pledge not to oppose the Yusin system, but I refused it. My mother at first urged me to write it and come back home, but later she came all the way to Taegu to encourage me, saying: "I don't want to see you alone come out of prison. All must be set free." These words kept me awake all that night. What made my mother say that to her beloved son who had been locked up four years in a cold solitary cell in a temperature of minus-20 degrees? The events of the bygone days flashed through my mind one after another.

Our juniors joined us in jail. They gave up their vested rights to learn at universities and came into prison. Many students did not rest content with their life, though free. Now living in the cells, each as narrow as less than three square metres, they showed no signs of despair. I learned from them and found hope in them. I thought I must stir up myself. Serving my four years' prison term, I spent two years in a solitary cell. There I got beating from jailors at times. I protested against the supply of spoiled food and joined in a fasting many times. At that time I could not but think why the youth of this country should venture their lives in shouting, "No spoiled meals for us!" when the youths of other countries were devoting their energies and passion to the study of the problems on the development of the universe, food and energy.

On May 12, 1979 I came out of prison by the suspension of the execution of the sentence, but I felt many things after the release. I witnessed Rev. Mun Ik Hwan's wife and 80-year old mother, who came here to meet him yesterday, waging a sit-down struggle on a chair or on the concrete floor of the church

for a month for the restoration of democracy, not for the release of the husband and the son. I thought, "We are still unequal to them." After release, I met many persons and could fully realize their deep-seated grudge. A woman who had been set free after serving her prison term on the charge of violating Emergency Decree became a worker labouring for 12 to 14 hours a day in Pusan while concealing her identity. Hearing the "Chinju Song of Debauchery" sung by a Yon-se University student who had served a prison term of 3 years and 6 months, I shared the grudge in his heart. We must build a state freed from such grudge. I was unable to live with my family in the 1970's. My younger brother who was a primary schoolboy has now become a collegian. He, too, was arrested on a charge of having violated Emergency Decree No. 9, but has now been let out, I hear.

I am now under the watch of the three victims of the 1970's—martyr Chon Tae Il who burnt himself to death for the workers at the Pyonghwa Market in 1970, martyr Kim Sang Jin, a fourth-year student of the Agricultural Faculty of Seoul University who committed suicide after reading out an open letter addressed to the President and his testament on April 11, 1975 and martyr Kim Gyong Suk who was killed in the YH incident on August 11, 1979. Following their will, I must continue to fight in the future, too. I must display strong vitality and fight on for the building of a democratic society and national unity, overcoming even greater setbacks, hardships and agony than now.

Ryang Gwan Su (Vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the Democratic Youth Association)

It was a great blunder to have left the pro-Japanese traitors to the nation alive at the time of August 15 liberation. As a result, the spirit of the nation be-

came impure and they stopped at nothing to prolong their ebbing lives. We were right when we demanded the removal of the so-called remnant forces of Yusin in our statement dated November 24. Illicit wealth racketeers backed by the authority and those accustomed to play the people false are still swaggering about in this society, with their heads thrown back.

It was after I had entered the university in 1970 that I experienced the wickedness of the May 16 military junta. I was drafted into the army because I had opposed the military drill at the university. In November 1972 there was a national referendum, the first voting in my life. At that time the commander of our company stayed with us for another month because of the election, though he had been appointed to another unit. He, a graduate of the Military Academy, was managing the voting while the newly-appointed company commander was sitting beside him. When I entered the polling place the former company commander told me: "Mark an approval ballot." So I asked back: "Why are you begging my suffrage? This is the first exercise of my sovereign right as a citizen of the Republic of Korea." Then he said, "Mr. Ryang (instead of calling Pfc. Ryang), if you mark on the opposition blank, it will turn to an aye when the ballot box is sent to the headquarters of the division. So, it will only make this company and its commander have hard time of it after all. I fully understand your feeling, but it is a foolish idea." When I persisted in putting a nay mark on the ballot, he snatched away the writing brush from my hand and marked an approval ballot before casting it into the box. I thought this was the way the Yusin Constitution rigged up the people's suffrage while depriving them of their sovereign rights, and this made me indignant. When I left the colors in August 1974 I determined myself to overthrow this Yusin system at the risk of my life. I believed in the strength of our

nation who had put up the persistent struggle against the Japanese imperialists, though suffering many sacrifices, during their 36-year long rule and who had driven Syngman Rhee out of the presidential seat.

At last the incident occurred on October 26 last year.

During the 19 years of dictatorship the Pak regime committed countless crimes. It was isolated internationally because of the dispatch of troops to Viet Nam. The economy is completely dependent on foreign countries. Innumerable are the crimes it committed in home politics. Nevertheless, those who jabbered, "Yusin is the only way to live and anyone opposed to it is our enemy," are now clamouring about democratization. If those who have committed crimes for 19 years continue to strut about shamelessly in this society, the resentment of the people will soar sky-high. Those sinners of history must be meted out to punishment. He who will seize power in the future must fear history and the people who will judge him.

No one believes the last year's vague statement of acting President Choe Gyu Ha on early constitutional revision. Why does he intend to become President through the instrumentality of the Yusin Constitution which is allegedly supposed to be abolished? Since we considered it a Yusin remnants' plot we planned the Myongdong YWCA case. I'll fight in the future, too.

Li Sang Ik (General Secretary of the Hanguk YMCA)

I will be dictated by a Christian's conscience to the last moment of my life granted by God. I am going to say a few words about the torture I suffered in the Army Security Command. As soon as we arrived there, we were given bloodstained and shoe-marked military uniforms to change our clothes. Our ears,

mouths and eye-sockets were torn and our hands paralyzed by torture. All were really miserable. Driven into an utter despair, I even attempted suicide for a moment though I knew it was a sin for a Christian.

Pak Jong Ryol (Executive Secretary of the General Federation of the Hanguk Christian Students)

Democracy is a system in which the rivals with good will can compete freely. But still now the opponents are put in jail, labelled as "communists". Under this situation there can be no democracy. If Choe Gyu Ha fails to punish the corruptionists, a new government will do it. Self-sacrifice is inevitable to bequeath fine property to the generation to come. The meeting held at the Myongdong YWCA Hall was a just one designed to awaken the people.

Paek Gi Wan (Director of the Paek Bom Institute)

Can Choe Gyu Ha bear the burden which even Pak Jung Hi could not do? The constitutional revision should be effected by those who are critical of it. But it is now said that the Constitution will be revised by those who protected it. What an oddity! I hope this trial will be conducive to advancing the history of the motherland even a step.

Yun Bo Son (Ex-President)

I am encouraged with a new hope when I think of our country having such fine young men as these. Presiding judge, can you punish these young patriots? If you want to, let me bear all their punishments. You must rather commend such excellent young patriots than punish them. They oppose Yusin for the country. Why have you a grudge against them? Why did you torture them so cruelly before bringing them out to punish? In which article of martial law is this accus-

ed trial stipulated? The Martial Law Command must punish the very torturers. And it must offer an apology to the people. The army seems falling into deviation. Do you mean to punish even such persons as Ham Sok Hon, Yang Sun Sik and Pak Jong Tae? Ham Sok Hon is even recommended as a candidate for Nobel Peace Prize abroad, isn't he? This is not a barbarian country. That won't do. Our November 24 meeting enhanced the prestige of our people internationally. It is said that the United States, France and other countries consider our people to be a people of reason. They are praised abroad and punished at home. Is the skeleton of Pak Jung Hi ruling this country still now? Isn't it a sheer folly to punish a good-will act for the country as illegal?

It was a moving military court. How long will the confrontation between cowards in power and noble resistants last? The forces led by the Army Security Commander Chon Du Hwan are cruel like this. Will our people be really able to ford this muddy stream of politics?

POLITICAL CURRENT

Feb. 16, 1980

Rumours or "rumour news" about Pak Jung Hi are increasing daily. Some young people call them "UB news" jokingly. One rumour has it that Pak Jung Hi had often been blind drunk before his death. He would be carried to the Blue House on the back

of Security Chief Cha Ji Chol. On such occasion Pak would mutter: "You're my only strength." This fanned up Cha's arrogance and hastened Pak's tragic end. As to the former KCIA Chief Kim Hyong Uk who had been missing in Paris, a friend of mine said as follows:

"Kim Hyong Uk went to Paris from New York to be allured and assassinated by the KCIA Minister in Paris who had once worked under him. Since the unsuccessful abduction of Kim Dae Jung, it had been a taboo to bring the abducted to the homeland. They say Kim Jae Gyu testified to this fact in camera. Particularly, a terrible rumour holds that Pak Jung Hi ordered to bring Kim Hyong Uk's head for confirmation. However, unable to bring himself to look at the head when it was fetched, Pak had it carried away. A man of this kind had ruled us and his remnants are still lording it."

The same friend also told a rumour circulating that film director Sin Sang Ok, husband of actress Choe Un Hui missed in Hongkong about two years before, had been killed on orders from Pak Jung Hi. He said:

"The government did not take it as a political issue. Choe Un Hui had found and trained a lot of actresses. But they became depraved after they had been taken to the Blue House. Some made their choice of money falling out of there. Some others told Choe Un Hui about their miserable lot. Because of this Sin Sang Ok's film studio was suppressed and the permit for film production revoked. So he went abroad. When a rumour went about that he was making a feature film on the theme of Kim Dae Jung's abduction, he was missed to lose his life after all. It is indeed a detective story."

Will south Korea really tread the road of democra-

cy? The key is of course in the hands of the military. No news of Kim Dae Jung is now carried in the press. Illustrative of this is an article on the memorial service held on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the death of Cho Byong Ok who had died of a disease at the time of the 1960 presidential election in which he had been supposed to compete with Syngman Rhee as the opposition candidate. It named its main attendants and even introduced the content of Kim Yong Sam's memorial address. But it did not refer at all to Kim Dae Jung who had made a speech that day before an audience of 2,000 for the first time after his release from house confinement, attracting their particular attention. His face could not be seen in the photo. A careful reading of that article helped me find the following passage alluding to Kim Dae Jung:

"When a person out of office entered the hall that day, there arose a loud applause at the entrance. He received a baptism of cameramen's flashlight while shaking hands with the prominent figures sitting in the front row." (From *Tonga Ilbo* dated Feb. 16.)

Such a memorial service or a party in honour of the publication of a book is often being held these days because all political meetings are prohibited. But the military has decided to omit the name of Kim Dae Jung from the newspaper articles on such gatherings. This is said to be martial law. Unless this martial law is not withdrawn, any constitutional revision or election would be meaningless. We are afraid lest the military should keep this law indefinitely. The Army Security Commander Chon Du Hwan is behind the curtain. Ominous rumours are rife about him. Let me again introduce my journalist friend's words:

"General Wickham, Commander of the US Forces, personally visited the ROK army on the front to give

it encouragement. Probably feeling uneasy about the present system of the ROK army, he preached loyalty to national defence to its men while soothing the anti-Chon Du Hwan sentiment growing gradually among them. Many people have a black image of Chon Du Hwan. At the time of the December 12 coup he was on the verge of causing a clash within the military. No one knows what he will do in the future. If he and his men remain hostile to Kim Dae Jung, they may probably do harm to him. Their martial law is nothing but a tool for their involvement in politics. The Choe Gyu Ha government, too, seems to have no mind to transfer power to the opposition party, to Kim Dae Jung in particular. So, the prospect is gloomy. There is even such a rumour that Chon Du Hwan schemes to place his father-in-law who retired from service in the presidential seat in order to escalate his influence. All people are critical of him. He is not so popular within the military either. He has neither big troops nor power of money at hand. Though he intends to try Chong Sung Hwa, former Martial Law Commander, there're no special data for criminal identification. As he had purged 40 to 50 generals, if he took off his uniform, he would become an ordinary civilian without any influence and find himself in danger of being killed by someone. Therefore, he is on a bed of thorns, I hear."

In fact, the internal situation of the military represented by Chon Du Hwan as well as power problem centering around him is by no means simple. He once served as a secretary of Pak Jung Hi immediately after the May 16, 1961 military coup. It can hardly be said that he has the whole of the army in his grip. Among the regular first-term graduates of the Military Academy only 30 or so remain in the army and the half of them are still officers of field grade. So, to their eyes Chon Du Hwan too may appear to be

a man enjoying a privilege related to politics. Those officers of field grade are also divided into many factions. After expelling some 40 high-ranking generals on December 12 last year, it is said, he quickly promoted 40 colonels to the post of a brigadier general. A friend of mine, an informant on the military circles, said:

“Quite a few generals and particularly many officers of field grade are opposed to the participation of the military in politics. If such an incident as the December 12 coup staged by Chon Du Hwan is permitted, it will be impossible to control the army in the future. Because of that coup, I think, Wickham, Commander of the US 8th Army, has been to the United States. Chon Du Hwan may possibly be stripped of his military uniform in the end. According to a rumour, the 9th Division of the army mobilized by him has not yet gone back to the front and the US troops which were deployed at that time are guarding the area still now. In fact, if the military destroys the political equilibrium like now, the introduction of foreign capital will become ever more difficult and even big enterprises will have to suspend operation. And the munitions industry, too, will be out of operation. Now it has become impossible to hold down the people under the slogan of economic development or national security as before. The military, the Chon Du Hwan group in particular, is in hot water.”

At these words, other friends present, too, spoke out the information materials and “rumour news” they had gained respectively. The *New York Times* is said to write that it is now impossible to rule the south Korean people “deeply concerned about politics” through other political means than democracy. The United States probably fears the mounting anti-US sentiment of the south Korean people though it

may believe that things would not go like those in Iran. Another friend said:

"It is a fact that there were complaints among the officers who had gone through the regular course of the Military Academy together with Chon Du Hwan. Anyway, they account for only 10 to 15 per cent of the officers commanding a large force of 600,000 troops. Therefore, it is very dangerous to leave the entire army to the Chon's group. That is why the US army holding the supreme command of the ROK army keeps them down. Right after the December 12 coup Chon went to the American ambassador. There he manifested his displeasure at the ambassador calling him, the real power of the country. The US army, he might have thought, is staying out of its own necessity and will not go back even if asked to. It is said that the US army takes no notice of him even now and contacts with other commanding staff members of the military. And the US side thinks Major Gen. Chon Du Hwan has no more than the ability of a battalion commander, though he is passionate. Perhaps because of this, he is now further intensifying his political activity. He visited a considerable number of men out of office favouring the government party, members of the Republican Party and Yusin assemblymen and discussed with them about the possibility of founding a third party. He is a creepy fellow, after all."

The exchange rate of 480 *won* to one dollar was jacked up to 580 *won* from January 12. It is aimed at providing another favourable condition for the activities of foreign enterprises and banks in south Korea, for the introduction of foreign currency. By this means the government is trying hard to increase export and get a large foreign loan. The price of petroleum was put up by 59.4 per cent on January 29. From February electric charge was enhanced by 35.9

per cent. Prices are skyrocketing, accordingly. Taking advantage of the devaluation of *won* and the rise of the oil price the specific financial cliques that had obtained information of them beforehand have reaped fabulous profits, causing a scandal. The present Vice-Premier is a man sent out by Taeu Enterprise. Just before the devaluation of *won* some enterprises had hoarded dollars or withheld the payment of dollars to be paid up. The government is said to have earned 300,000 million *won* in this turmoil. In this connection, the government itself admits it amounts to 200,000 million *won*. This money is seemingly to be used as funds for founding a third party or holding election in the future in collusion with the military authorities. When the New Democratic Party called it to account for this at the national assembly session, a Cabinet minister in charge of economic affairs said that it would be used for the stabilization of the people's living. But it may exactly mean the funds for political activity or election campaign. Referring to such political situation, my journalist friend said:

"Unfortunately, rumours are more exact than the government's announcement or the newspapers in our country. The nickname of Choe Gyu Ha is administrative official Choe. He may be good-natured, but is impotent. He thought of staying on the presidential post through an indirect election, but it seems that he has given up this idea recently and expressed his wish to retire from public office and take a rest. When the December 12 coup broke out, he suffered great troubles for hours because the Chon Du Hwan group pressed him to issue an order of arresting the Martial Law Commander Chong Sung Hwa. At first he refused it on the excuse that the warrant was devoid of the National Defence Minister's countersignature. But when victory was sure for Chon Du Hwan, he affixed his stamp to it and gave it the ex post

facto consent at the Cabinet meeting the next morning. Nevertheless, even after becoming President, he is unable to enter the Blue House. It is because Chon Du Hwan fears what plot he will hatch in that fully fortified place.

"Before the December 12 coup some 40 generals frequently talked over politics, gathering around the Martial Law Commander Chong Sung Hwa. Chon Du Hwan, too, was there and each time he gave information to his group. Therefore, Chong Sung Hwa intended to expel Chon from the military, but the latter beat him to the punch.

"Choe Gyu Ha seemed to have got sick of such a thing. So, he planned to found a third party embracing the military, financial cliques, deputies to the Autonomous National Congress for Unification, essential members of the New Village Movement, and women of the National Salvation Service Corps throughout the country, and to recommend Prime Minister Sin Hyon Hwak as its leader. But now he appears to have realized that it can never attract the people's sympathy. To make matters worse, Sin was once put in jail immediately after the April 19 revolution because he had participated in the government of Syngman Rhee's Liberal Party. This move is based on the judgement that Kim Jong Pil and the Republican Party alone are unable to prevail over the opposition party or the forces out of office."

My friend added that it was after all nothing but a move to find the way for prolonging the lives of the remnant forces accounting for 10 per cent of the population at most. The same is true of the military. Realistic conciliation and pursuit of balance seem to be needed to avoid acute antagonism. So, even those fighting for democracy are now following a considerably mild line. And there is above all a strong pressure from the people. A rumour is circulating that

Pak Jong Gyu who had long wielded power as the President's Security Chief has donated 35,000 million *won* to the Republican Party and Kim Jong Pil in an attempt to survive. The management of *Tonga Ilbo* has already transferred the right of editing to its editorial staff and is going to reinstate its expelled journalists. Of late those who formed the backbone of the Pak regime have all fallen into disfavour these days. A former special advisor of the President can hardly find employment even at an office like the National Spirit Cultural Centre. The government-run KBS Television telecasts the debates on constitutional revision for two hours. They, too, muttering that television and radio broadcasts must be brought under public management, have become dubious of why they had so enthusiastically supported Yusin. The mass media are bent on inviting democratic champions as their writers because the newspapers or journals carrying the writings of venal scholars of the Yusin faction will not sell. Even the government-run journal *Peaceful Unification*, the organ of the Council for National Unification, omits the statements of President-appointed assemblymen of the Council for Yusin Administration. Reptile intellectuals are rejected by the organ of the government and, instead, the critical people who were kept far away from it before welcomed.

We must find the stream of history in this movement of the people. Apparently there seems to be no change under martial law, but in reality most people are undergoing a great change under silent pressure. The outside is intact, but the inside is already rotten. Does history change like this? On the general current of politics concerning constitutional revision and presidential election my journalist friend said:

"Of course, the persons of the Choe Gyu Ha regime, too, think that power should not be transferred

to the opposition party. The government has declared that it will draw up a bill for constitutional revision, and even the assemblymen of the Council for Yusin Administration who have been pushed around begin to speak out that they are qualified to prepare a draft for constitutional revision. However, they are all merely seeking the ways of self-protection while airing democracy. Meanwhile, even if the opposition party comes into power, a radical change can not be expected, and it is also difficult for the military to come to power. We can say this fact rather constitutes a stable foundation for this society. The ruling party has no leader but Kim Jong Pil, an object of sharp criticism, whereas the forces out of power have such popular leaders as Kim Dae Jung and Kim Yong Sam. The military also lacks unity. It may be said that ours is an army without long tradition and a genealogical table. As for Kim Dae Jung and Kim Yong Sam, the former leads the latter in terms of popularity and political ability and receives over 300 visitors every day. Some of them come to see him to confirm whether he is beyond recovery as a rumour has it. But I don't know about the balance of forces within the New Democratic Party. It is hard to guess who will be nominated as the presidential candidate. Within the party some are of an opinion that Kim Dae Jung would lead, but the others say that things have taken a turn favourable to Kim Yong Sam because he has strengthened his footing in the party through struggle and appointed new chairmen of the local party committees. Saying that the NDP, too, has begun to gain funds from some financial cliques, one friend well-informed of the NDP affairs feared if it would not make the party corrupt and its exposure to the public would work unfavorably in the election campaign."

Today's dispatch is too long. I am overpowered

with a lot of affairs to speak of.

The economic situation, too, is serious. The government announced that the amount of foreign loan had reached 26,000 million dollars by the end of last year. To this, young people said that sum of foreign currency was tantamount to that fled abroad by the financial cliques and power elites. The question of injustice and corruption rife in the period of the Pak regime cannot be overlooked. While the prices of commodities are soaring, those of farm products are pinned down. Depression increases unemployment.

Trade unions, too, have set about self-purification at last. The corrupt countermeasures to meet the Tongil Spinning Company case and the YH trade incident are exciting scathing criticism. Kim Yong Tae, Chairman of the Taehan General Federation of Trade Unions who should be responsible for the excremental water case at the Tongil Spinning Company is in the hiding because all the branch chairmen demand his retirement. It is also questioned how much wealth he accumulated in conspiracy with the KCIA and the company side. Everyone is clinging to his present post for self-protection, but it is really insecure. Whatever reactionary manoeuvres the remnants may resort to, they cannot check the wheel of history which has begun to roll.

I will conclude today's dispatch with two more facts.

Now I have by me a document entitled *Advice and Demand towards President Kim Jong Pil* written by Rim Ho, an assemblyman of the ruling Democratic Republican Party. It demands the self-control of the Republican Party and Kim Jong Pil's "retreat from the party's first political line". The Republican Party and Kim Jong Pil must reflect on their past doings and restrain themselves. He even now uses more political funds than at the time of Pak Jung Hi. For what does he do it, and from where has he got that

money? This is not an age in which he can bribe the people that way. These are the content of the document. Constant attention must be paid to this movement, too.

The other fact is about Kim Dae Jung's stance towards Japan. Since his unhappy abduction case, he has thought ill of Japan. But his gratitude to the Japanese people and persons of good sense is deep. When my friend visited him, he said: "I don't like to touch the old scars as far as possible. I like to think of everything from the viewpoint of development. And I want to cooperate for the establishment of genuine south Korea-Japan relations beneficial to each other in East Asia. I have told this to members of the Japanese embassy, too."

I believe that even if the lunacy of the Pak regime lingers for a definite time, the south Koreans, looking forward to democratized south Korea, will approach a new history realistically, rationally and prudently and display political maturity for its creation. Sure enough, they will step over the politics administered hitherto and march further ahead. I hope that the overseas friends, too, will believe this and encourage our people.

ON THE CAMPUS

Mar. 16, 1980

I have thought when I could convey the spring news of Seoul to you readers. Now I tell you of it in excitement.

The last icy wind may blow again, but let me write this letter.

Eighty-three literary men belonging to the Free Practical Writers' Council jointly sent a letter to the Choe Gyu Ha government in mid-February, demanding the release of poet Kim Ji Ha. Three years have already passed since his first trial at the end of 1976. But his second trial is still not taken at the appellate court. "The release of poet Kim Ji Ha will show the world the release of human conscience in the south Korean society," the letter insisted, patiently waiting for the day of his release. In memory of the day of Kim Ji Ha's rearrest in 1975, his poems were recited at universities. It seems that the power elites thought it was impossible to stop it by dint of martial law alone.

Surely the universities are getting brisk gradually. Newspapers, too, report about the professors and students who have come back to the campus after the lapse of five years. Under the title "Justice Flows like a River", they even cover the first lectures of ousted professors. Professor So Nam Dong who returned to the theological department of the Yonsei University said:

"Going into the reality from the university I could further develop the theological theory of the people. My two years' prison life in particular was a good chance for me. There I reaped a rich harvest, mingling with professors in other branches, pressmen, political figures, workers and peasants. On this basis, I am going to open my lecture in the form of conversation with you."

He was honoured with being the first to stand on the platform on March 6, among the reinstated professors. Introducing him to the students, the dean of the theological department said: "You are happy."

The students clapped their hands again. Professor So prayed for a moment. But he was unable to repress his deep emotion and said he was to teach political theology, but it would be a popular theology associated with the tradition and history of south Korea. It was a valuable moment obtained by him after long years of a death-defying struggle. He was arrested in 1976 together with Kim Dae Jung in the case of the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation. The best lesson for the young people is that the glory of victory is sure to come after an arduous struggle for justice.

The campus where a professor can speak like this and the newspaper that can report it even under martial law. Times have really changed.

The Faculty Council of Seoul University decided to elect its president and deans at a faculty meeting, presented this problem to the Ministry of Education and demanded it to revise the educational law enforced under the Yusin system. There is also a sign of efforts to disorganize the Student Defence Corps aimed at militarizing the campus. Noteworthy is the fact that its executive members appointed by the superior organ have handed in their resignation and demanded the campus freedom. The "Faculty for Assessment of Government Policy" in the pay of the Pak regime is also calling for the political neutrality of education. Professor Ro Myong Sik of Songgyun-gwan University who was the first to be reinstated last year contributed his short article entitled "After Many Years of Absence" to *Tonga Ilbo*, expressing his delight at such changes in Seoul. It reads:

"I stand again on the platform after many years of absence. When you entered your school gate again you must have felt your eyes moistened in spite of yourselves, a cyclorama of all the hideous memories passing through your minds.... I, along with a large

number of students and professors who have come back to the campus and reinstated democrats, should like to call you heroes of democracy. And I feel an urge to pin orders on your breasts, if possible. But I know well that even if I could do so, you would refuse it. Because you are heroes, but not individualist heroes.... Because true heroic patriots and democrats do not make haste with receiving orders...."

After succeeding in the military coup in 1961, Pak Jung Hi and other armymen had been eager to add one or two stars to their epaulettes. The professor might ironically allude to this fact when he said about orders. It is said that the Army Security Commander Chon Du Hwan has put one more star to his shoulder-piece, that is, has become lieutenant general. He appears to have made newspapers report his promotion that was seemingly attained a month before. As is known, he expelled more than 40 generals through a reactionary coup last December and is now courtmartialling the Martial Law Commander General Chong Sung Hwa.

Pak Jung Hi, branding the students calling for the restoration of the democratic system as "senseless", took them out of universities and threw them into prison after torturing them. At that time the professors remaining at their posts kept silence or took the lead in executing the government orders. Students' agony caused by this will never be relieved by a mere moral lecture on national conciliation or Christian love.

Four hundred students who returned to Seoul University have formed a "reinstated students' association". They reportedly advocated political realism and called for campus freedom. At Seoul University 160 reptile professors were to get the bullet, but the reinstated students have proposed to dismiss only 15. In promoting campus freedom, they seem to push their demands energetically within the bounds of

avoiding censure for disorder and extremity. They think they must not give the military authorities any pretext for open interference by running to an extreme. As the agents of the military may create agitation among the students, they should rally strength carefully and then exert themselves for the democratization of the campus in keeping with the public opinion. It also may be pressure on the government. This suggests that if the government goes against democratization, there will be a struggle much stronger than before. It can be said that they have grown so much as to pose as a political force. This, too, must be called political realism brought forth by the bitter experience under the Pak regime.

Times have much changed, indeed. There has also taken place a change at Ryongnam University in Taegu, the biggest private university of south Korea, which was to take in Pak Jung Hi as its president when he was dethroned. The directors of this university who are all cadres of the ruling Republican Party, proposed to admit into the university the bereaved sons and daughters of Pak. But this proposal was turned down by all and the university rather took in two professors who had been expelled from universities in Seoul on a charge of being opposed to the Yusin system. On these facts, a journalist friend said:

"Now things can't go as in the past no matter how hard the Yusin remnants may try. The police, too, want to stand neutral. They may be intended to clean their blood-stained hands with which they tortured the political offenders. Former President Yun Bo Son is under trial at court-martial. But he could contribute a long article recalling the former director of *Tonga Ilbo* to this paper. How farcical it is! The people are jeering at the military which is trying to convict him on a charge of violating martial law. Times have changed and even the news-

paper passing the censorship of the military has come to carry his article. It is decided to expel from the trade union Kim Yong Tae, the mastermind of the excremental water case at the Tongil Textile Company. He is now Chairman of the Taehan General Federation of Trade Unions, but is unable even to gad about. On March 10, the Labor Day, the Prime Minister preached worker-capitalist cooperation, but as soon as he concluded his speech there arose the shouts demanding the three rights of labour and the retirement of the trade union leaders, the labour aristocrats who had neglected the labour movement. Even though the Yusin remnants declared martial law and are resorting to wicked machinations, the speechless pressure of the people is leading our history. Newspapers too are following it."

Many are of the opinion that the workers are on the brink of riot because of price rise and depression.

Therefore, it is said that the Labour Office will frame new "regulations on meditation of the right of collective bargaining", and organize labour committees in cities and provinces to settle labour disputes. If a dispute happens, the three representatives from workers, employers and public corporation will sit together to settle the dispute through negotiation. This means that the right to the meditation of labour dispute goes again from the government to the labour committee after the lapse of nine years. Entrepreneurs hope for the seizure of power by the Yusin remnants, but think they are too incompetent to settle labor questions.

Evidently, financial cliques are now demanding the emergence of a pliant democratic force that will stabilize their economy without shaking it too much. No one thinks the people will easily cave in before suppression in the future. Everybody feels the need of a democrat who is persuasive, conscientious and

prudent for the nation. This must be the sign of renovation.

SITUATION AFTER REINSTATEMENT

Mar. 16, 1980

On February 29 the government made public that 687 persons restored their citizenship. This is the recognition of the restoration of citizenship to the violators of Emergency Decree No. 9. However, it is not yet applied to violators of Emergency Decree No. 4 and the Anti-Communist Law. Out of some 2,000, only less than one-third have been reinstated on a preferential basis. Professor Li Myong Hui of Hanyang University is reinstated, though he was accused of violating the Anti-Communist Law.

Above all, the decision on the reinstatement of Kim Dae Jung is a topic of conversation. Many newspapers openly gave a photo-accompanied account of this decision.

One may fully appreciate the spring of Seoul even in a three-page article of an eight-page newspaper on reinstatement.

After the October 26 incident a large number of pressmen feared lest reprisals should rain on them too. But now they are aware that those who should be condemned are few and that they themselves are also victims of the Yusin system. So, they came to denounce, together with the people, the cursed system and men and to aspire after a democratic sys-

tem, never being implicated in sinful cooperation. This is an interesting switchover and has become a process no one can check. It has brought those hating the mood of democratization to an extreme minority.

In such circumstances, people striving for democratization have come to get themselves together, openly discuss the political situation and work out strategy.

Now let me report about some questions discussed at a meeting held on March 10.

Report I. Yun Bo Son and Kim Dae Jung

On February 18 the Choe Gyu Ha government set up a national consultative committee and asked 23 men including former President Yun Bo Son to be its members.

In his letter to Choe Gyu Ha, Yun Bo Son put up a six-point demand on which he conditioned his membership of this committee.

He demanded firstly, the release of the imprisoned personages and the reinstatement of the expelled people, and secondly, the withdrawal of emergency martial law, the release of those imprisoned under martial law and the participation of the former KCIA Chief Kim Jae Gyu and all other people in the movement for democratization. Here Yun Bo Son recalled the fact that he was also in a position to be courtmartialled as a violator of martial law. He also demanded that the measures for improving the livelihood of the poor suffering from inflation be made public, that the military express its view on standing political neutrality, that administrative affairs be handled in a democratic manner, and that the privileged circles of the old system practice self-control.

This was the minimum demand of the people. Need-

less to say, Choe Gyu Ha is failing to respond to this. In fact, that no opposition personages have participated in that committee. Therefore, it is said, such a consultative committee devoid of real politicians is meaningless.

The Choe Gyu Ha government is indecisive, now insisting on promoting democratization, now putting security and economy before politics, now praising the Yusin Constitution. At the opening session of the Inquiry Commission for Constitutional Revision Choe Gyu Ha stated that he was afraid if the presidential election would be "overheated" and that power should not be concentrated on the President.

Newspapers, to say nothing of the opposition party and democratic camp, are critical of him, carrying editorials. The indecision of the Choe government indicates that they represent the old forces as their remnants trying to remain in power by keeping martial law long in reliance upon the military. Their indecision is also partly attributable to pressure from the military.

High posts of every important organization like the Inquiry Commission for Constitutional Revision, are invariably held by Home Minister Kim Jong Hwan and Defence Minister Chu Yong Bok planted by the Army Security Commander Chon Du Hwan's faction. Through them, the hawk faction of the military represented by Chon Du Hwan interferes in every affair.

Even in such situation they have had to herald spring—the restoration of rights and return to the campus. This owes to the people's pressure. No one can foresee the south Korean political situation as long as this pressure prolongs. The instable political situation has worsened the economic situation. Prospects for foreign trade are also gloomy. The military will take another step back under this pressure. There is also a sign of self-abandonment in its activity.

Kim Dae Jung has started his political activity upon reinstatement, but there are many obstacles in his way. In his March 1 statement before home and foreign journalists, he said that he would strive for "promotion of security against communism", "realization of freedom and democracy", "development of free economic system", "realization of social justice", "promotion of friendship with the US, Japan and other fraternal nations", and "democratic national unification through peaceful north-south dialogue". These problems will be all that a realistic statesman aspiring after a democratic regime can touch on in south Korea at present. The military, north Korea, the United States, Japan and economic problems—all these have extremely confined the room for his realistic and political statement and action. So, it may be said that the destiny of himself and that of south Korea depend on how wisely he lives through.

South Korean newspapers abridged his 13-page statement that day only in a few lines. They should not give front-page prominence to Kim Dae Jung. This is the press policy of the Martial Law Command.

Speaking of "cessation of political reprisal" in his statement, Kim Dae Jung said: "I as a human being bear a grudge. But guided by God's directives on love and remission and prompted by the desire for a democratic future, I have no idea of calling them to account for my abduction any longer."

It appears that Kim Dae Jung has long discussed this question with many people. It can be said that he has left it to the judgement of the Japanese government and people. This may be the only possible decision he could declare to the Japanese government which is fond of talking about political settlement. He feels very sorry for his friends, the Japanese in particular, who had fought in protest against the maltreatment of him. But he had to think of the great thing away ahead.

Report 2. The Military and Kim Jae Gyu's Trial

Former Chief of the Army General Staff Chong Sung Hwa was condemned to ten years' imprisonment at the first military trial.

It is allegedly said that he had attempted to drive the army stationed in the north of Seoul into a rebellion at the time of Kim Jae Gyu's assassination of Pak Jung Hi but, upon seeing this attempt unsuccessful, he had betrayed Kim and arrested him.

It is rumoured that he had schemed, together with Kim Jae Gyu, for a seizure of political power by the army, though this fact was not made public at the trial. But Chon Du Hwan's junior group has elbowed them away and grasped power. Another rumour says that Major Gen. Yun Pil Yong, once Chon's senior officer, will return to the military soon and take office as the KCIA Chief.

Yun had once wielded his power as Capital Garrison Commander, but failed in a scramble with the KCIA for power, and was imprisoned in 1973. Now he has reappeared and joined hands with Chon Du Hwan. Told by the military to recommend a KCIA Chief, Choe Gyu Ha chose a man of Kim Jong Pil faction, only to get a flat refusal, I hear.

Chon Du Hwan and his ilk are involving themselves deep in politics to intensify it.

After seizing the post of the Capital Garrison Commander following the December 12 event, ex-Commander of the Ninth Division Ro Tae U lately had this to tell to pressmen:

"Anyone wishing to assume presidency should give preference to national security. Any other person than three Kims may be recommended. The US side is not so helpful to our national security. Newspapers should be more critical of the US, far from

being excessively friendly towards it."

Of course, this view of his was not printed in any newspaper. At times, the Choe Gyu Ha government echoes it. This is a sort of closed-door politics.

Report 3. The "South Korean National Liberation Front Preparation Commission" Case and Three Kims

There is the so-called "South Korean National Liberation Front Preparation Commission" case now under confidential trial. In this case 73 persons are indicted, of whom 70 are detained. Five groups which have nothing to do with the case seem to be implicated in it to give pain to innocent people. Most of the accused fought for democratization, but are tied up with communism as usual. All of them were indicted on December 26 and faced the first trial on February 4.

A statement of their families well shows that south Korea is now under the same tyranny as Pak's, though there is much talk about efforts for democracy. Their families could not find out their whereabouts for more than one month after their arrest.

Their houses were illegally searched and their families put under surveillance. They went through torture after apprehension. Only two and a half months later were they allowed to engage counsels. But even now, after the lapse of more than five months, none of them are allowed to see their families.

The trial began on February 4, 100 days after their arrest. But one admission ticket was given to one family and that bearing the name of a designated hearer. In court the families were shocked by terrible sights of the accused—"an unmovable man whose broken legs and spine were plastered, a man dragging his feet and a man lying in a stretcher."

All including one with a broken spine cannot take

medical treatment. Hence, their desperate families file petition only to be thrown out. Worse still, an investigation is made to find out the writer of that petition.

At the sight of a defendant being carried on by a stretcher, his mother wailed and fainted. Even the warders and armed police there shed tears.

It was made clear in court that most of them, unable to bear torture, had written their statements as dictated. In most cases they allegedly distributed handbills or provided board and meal for those on the black list. Who can pay for their loss, even if they are released?

A worldwide support is badly needed for a fair settlement of the Kim Jae Gyu case and the "South Korean National Liberation Front Preparation Commission" case.

Next, I should like to touch on the political situation.

The military will continue to exert negative influence on south Korean politics in the future, too. The Pak Jung Hi regime had reinforced itself with people from North and South Kyongsang Provinces. It is said that one half of the military, air and naval cadets had come from the above-said provinces. Therefore, localism prevailing over the military and political power will last long in the future.

It may react on Kim Dae Jung of Cholla Province origin and Kim Yong Sam of Kyongsang Province origin.

Kim Yong Sam has an intense desire to depend on localism. And rural people, too, are infatuated with localism. It is a stumbling block in the way of south Korea aspiring after democratization, though a newspaper reported that both swore to each other not to fan up localism.

Pak Jung Hi's bereaved family changed the residence. It is said that as stones are thrown at their

house from all sides in the evening, Gun Hye, Pak's first daughter, has to go to a neighbouring house for sleep. She is said to have an idea of becoming a nun. In south Korea a traitor leaves evil aftereffect on his posterity. There is no help for it.

Anyhow, the public sentiment of south Korea has changed. A vacancy has occurred in the post of the vice-chairman of a district party committee of the ruling Republican Party. But no one wants to fill it. In contrast, some 20 from the opposition New Democratic Party in the same district are running for a national assemblyman. Farmers paid dearly under the Pak regime. This has stirred up their inveterate enmity against the ruling party. This year, too, they are suffering from the rich harvest of garlic and onion forced to plant by the agricultural cooperative. Rural areas stink with rotten garlic and onion. It appears that animosity against Kim Jong Pil and others who made money under the old regime will never tone down.

But this does not mean putting faith in the New Democratic Party either. By this time this party has been reduced to a semi-ruling party. Is there any ground to believe its members will act with a good conscience from now on? Under the Pak regime most of politicians had degenerated. It is clear that even if the opposition party comes into power, it will corrupt. This is the very public sentiment.

Hence, Kim Dae Jung's assertion that priority should be given to the struggle for the complete recovery of democracy instead of vying for presidency, is carrying persuasive power.

And it is also persuasive to assert the inner reshuffle of the New Democratic Party as a force to take power.

If it starts the election campaign, retaining its immoral habits, it may fall into a mire of plutocracy.

From this, one may pass the following judgement

on three Kims.

If Kim Jong Pil attains power, he will try to prolong his life in collusion with the remnant forces. And he may use authority and money as the only ruling means as the Pak regime did. Then he may be akin to Syngman Rhee who grasped power in reliance upon landlords and pro-Japanese elements after Korea's liberation from Japanese rule. Now the people's judgement has much grown as against that time.

The ruling forces, too, have much grown likewise. Anyhow, his rule will bring pressure on the people again. That is why even the financial circles are nervous about his taking power.

As for Kim Yong Sam, the people are not sure of his political ability. If he is run for presidency, he should hold the majority in the NDP. This means the flow of nondescript funds into the party. Backed by corrupt elements within the party, he will be unable to advance any innovatory policy. Nor can he rally the conscientious forces to give the people a hope for future. Recently he published a book entitled, *We Have No Hill to Rely on*. Rumour is afloat that he tries to have a meeting in Japan in honour of its publication in Japanese and thus intends to approach the Japanese political forces and entrepreneurs. Numerous people are already disappointed at such approach towards Japan. It will encounter sharp criticism as a suspected intention to draw his political fund from Japan. The financial circles, too, think he will be unable to remove the existing economic troubles.

In particular, he is thought to have no ability at all to lead the critical forces and workers inside the democratic system.

How about Kim Dae Jung then? Evidently, he is considered to be competent and able to fully display his ability on the international arena. He can give

good impression on the people and the world. He has many conscientious intellectuals around him more than anyone else. He will be able to push reformation while pursuing security. And he will improve the constitution of the New Democratic Party. The hard trial he has undergone so far is now not only favourable for himself, but helpful for him to win the absolute support from people. But because of his reformative character, he fails to get support from financial and political circles. In particular, he is rejected by the Chon Du Hwan-led military. Japan will not side with him and the US military, too, will not give him active support.

To repress his vigorous political activity the military is keeping martial law. He is enjoying absolute support from the people even before election. And it is feared that he will receive full support of the New Democratic Party, too. He doesn't want to compete with Kim Yong Sam within the NDP under martial law. Under the prevailing situation their competition will only look an unsightly conflict in the eyes of the people, a conflict prompted by the desire for supremacy. It will not look a good-minded political rivalry. The people think Kim Dae Jung is most promising. This is a reality.

The financial circles admit the ability of Kim Dae Jung. But they are afraid that he should throw down the gauntlet to the privileged class if he comes into power, even if it is not a political reprisal. They are in such a state as to try to find even the minimum guarantee against this supposed reprisal.

So far the Ryongnam plutocrats and entrepreneurs from North and South Kyongsang Provinces have enjoyed privileges while the Honam ones from North and South Cholla Provinces have been subjected to repression. There will be a switchover if Kim Dae Jung seizes the throne.

THE PROBLEM OF VENAL PROFESSORS

Apr. 17, 1980

The long-shut windows of tall buildings facing the west and the north begin to be opened in Seoul one after another. They have been shut fast and painted black to keep off view as they are in the direction of the Blue House, the presidential residence. For the personal safety of the dictator, citizens and tourists were forbidden to feast their eyes on the scenery of the Seoul city. Now the black panes of those windows are giving way to transparent glass. This change is taking place from early March. But some tall buildings are prudent in swimming with the stream, thinking orders may be given again to blacken and shut up their windows for the sake of "security." More so are the government-run buildings as there are still no instructions from on high. All those windows were blackened on instructions around 1975-76 when the resistance of the democratic forces mounted high. Pak Jung Hi tried to prolong his life by stemming the current of history with black windows. It was like an effort to stop the surging high waves with a palm of hand.

But great prudence now being exercised in changing black windows may symbolize the present situation of south Korea. Spring is felt everywhere. But no one knows when it will hail out of the season. The fate of this spring seems to be still in the hands of the Yusin remnants.

At this historical turning-point, a coward may be fearful of the yellow leaves of a blighted tree. In face of the fact that the Army Security Commander Chon Du Hwan has cast off his mask at last and is acting for the Chief of the notorious KCIA as well after banishing over 40 generals including the Martial Law Commander on December 12 last, the same coward may speak under his breath that the age of the remnants will continue. Or he may rather dream of keeping his privilege by relying on them. In contrast, the brave never flinch before the snow-storm of such reaction, but are delighted to find the young shoots under the snow and willingly join them.

Young people have a courage after all. Those young shoots are now growing to bloom in campuses. Spring comes first to these young courageous people. They are now singing a parody of the sentimental song of love, *That Man That Time*, which runs:

*Yusin reminds us of that man
He loved the Emergency Decrees
He detained students and democrats
He trampled underfoot democracy
But one day he was shot in Kungjong dong
By his most trustful Jae Gyu
He breathed his last saying:
"I'm not much of a man"
That man that time.
His only once was once again and yet again
He mistook himself for a great leader
He didn't even say farewell
He must be happy now in Tongjak dong*¹.
A mere memory of him once in a long while
Is enough to make us grit our teeth
That man that time.*

*He painted the 1980's as a prospering age
He used to put up security with general
mobilization
Is the whole problem solved with his death?
To the regret of Gun Hye and Ji Man*²
He must be dismissed from everybody's
mind now
That man that time.*

Notes: 1. Pak's body was buried in the national cemetery in Tongjak dong.

2. They are Pak's eldest daughter and son.

With this song the female singer Sim Su Bong entertained Pak Jung Hi at the banquet just before he was shot to death. Now it has become a song of people "mourning over" Pak's death.

The wind of freedom starts blowing first in campuses. There are signs of the demands that the students' autonomy be restored, that the professors who had been excessively faithful to the Pak regime, resign of their own accord, and that campus management be rid of a chaotic state. Newspapers give account of this almost every day. A dozen of university presidents have resigned or tendered their resignation. Students are staging all-night sit-downs and occupying presidents' rooms. At the Hanyang University in Seoul 250 students in a sit-in strike were attacked by some 100 racketeers. Over 10 students were wounded. Enraged at this, more than 3,000 students occupied the president's room and demanded his resignation. This university had to close its door.

At the Choson University in Kwangju, South Cholla Province, the students occupied the president's room and destroyed furnitures there when the university authorities totally rejected their demand for the freedom of campus.

No small number of private universities have long been used as a means of moneymaking for the families of their founders. The Sejong University in Seoul, for instance, is called a nepotic one as its chief director, directors, president, vice-president, and postgraduate course chief are all from one and the same kinsfolk. The Hanyang University has employed some strong-arm graduates in its instruction staff to let them domineer over the faculty council and students. The Pak regime overlooked this unfair practice. It had rather felt grateful to that brutal force for suppressing students' criticism of the government. Thus, university founders, managing directors and presidents supported the Yusin system and made best of it. They owed a lot to the Yusin system. Now the students cannot pass over such irregularities when they are stepping up the democratization of campuses. Their slogan is: Democracy must start from the campus! Also serious is the problem of the venal professors. Some of them took the lead in repressing the students under the Pak regime. They cannot be treated more like human beings, let alone professors. There are also some professors who, through the mass media, had been fond of alleging that the Yusin system was really the road for our nation to tread and that Pak Jung Hi himself was the nation. How can such people stand on the platform and talk about democracy to the students? Having lost their academic integrity, they had better practice self-control.

None of them, however, seem to listen attentively to this accusation and apologize for their past faults. On the contrary, the faculty council of the State Chonbuk University in Chonju, North Cholla Province, passed even a resolution on contending against the students' demand. They described it as an infringement upon their educational authority and asserted that order should be restored quickly in the

campus. Meanwhile, the voice of the students condemning them is mounting steadily. The University, they insist, must be most sensitive to truth and justice. The future of the nation is dark with such a corrupt university.

In this connection, Prime Minister Sin told a *New York Times* reporter that it was impossible to lift martial law when the disturbance in campuses was threatening public order. Chiming in with this, Choe Gyu Ha stated: "Any act of the students insulting the personality of their teachers goes against the moral principle and beautiful manners and customs of our country." He specially warned them against their criticism of military education.

The reply of the students to this is by no means simple: "Such a travail is our minimum struggle to free ourselves from the situation in which we have been forced into silence for nearly 20 years to get our university bereft of reason, isn't it? Do they know how much self-control we are now practicing? Their refusal to lift martial law on that pretext is no more than an expression of their deep-laid plot to keep the remnants' rule by force. Therefore, we must take back the freedom of campus before those remnants regain their strength. We will watch till June at the longest how the remnants' government walks the road of democracy." Such is the students' tone of argument.

Also sound is the tone of argument of newspapers. While giving the students an advice not to go too far, they demand that the venal professors practice self-control or resign and that an end be put to the disorders in campus management. The mass media try to form a judgment from the practical wisdom of the people. They keep assuming a fairly reliable posture. This may be their way to survive in this critical situation, particularly as the mass media that had committed many faults under the Pak

regime. And it may be said that their management too can and need no longer repress the sound judgment of pressmen. Moreover, Kim Ok Gil, Minister of Education, who had been the president of the Rihwa Women's University, seems to have resolved to follow the sound judgment of the people to earn praise from all. Even while exercising self-control, she must be thinking she should step up democratic reform even a little.

The police authorities, too, are said to move only at the request of the university authorities concerned since any happenings in campuses are their internal affairs. The military authorities, too, think their excessive intervention in the affairs of campuses will aggravate the situation to their disadvantage. As for the military drilling the students are now taking issue with, it is given to all the male newcomers for 10 days in spring in barracks in addition to the regular military training. It was introduced in the middle of the 1970's when the resistance of the students became intense. Its aim was to strike terror into the young hearts through severe training. It served as an important means for the Pak regime in repressing the campuses and turning them into military barracks. When the students started complaining of it this time, Choe Gyu Ha issued a warning to them. At this, the president and deans of Seoul University urged the students to practice self-control and called their attention to the possible tough countermeasures of the government. And they declared that they would all resign if the conflict between the government and the students led the university again to a ruinous situation.

Repeating the view of a military executive on such situation, a friend of mine whispered: "The military will not interfere in the internal affairs of the campuses. We will not use our guns even if the students turn out to the streets shouting political

slogans. We don't wish to become Li Wan Yong."

Li Wan Yong is the traitorous Prime Minister who sold Korea off to Japan at the time of the annexation of Korea by Japan. According to the press report, his kinsmen turned up his grave and removed his remains away a few years ago. His direct descendants had been unable to appear before the public even at the time of Japanese rule. They are said to have emigrated to Japan. The death of Pak Jung Hi must have brought back the bitter memory of this disgraceful past to the minds of the people.

THOSE DENIED REINSTATEMENT

Apr. 17, 1980

Even according to the generally known figure, more than 200 people still remain in prison because they had offered resistance to the Pak regime. About Kim Ji Ha, Bishop Chi Hak Sun said at the April 1 session of the Reinstatement Measures Council (RMC):

"Asked sharply why they didn't release Kim Ji Ha, they favoured me by letting me meet him once. Formerly there had been four warders to write down the content of the conversation. But this time there was only one warder. The time limit of 15 minutes had been strictly observed before. But this time I was not driven out even after the passage of 30 minutes. When I asked if I should leave the place now, the warder told me to converse as much as I

please. ... Indeed, a black-minded person had been in power before, the person who had thrown anyone falling out of his favour into prison for five years. Will this evil practice be removed in the future?"

A little bird told me that the mother of Kim Ji Ha too could meet him three times in March. The dark air of prison has become a bit softer than before. When his mother said, "They don't release you fearing that you should display various activities if you are set free", Kim Ji Ha replied:

"Locked up for 5-6 years, I am utterly blind to the outside world. What could I do even if I were set free? I should know the situation first if I'm to do something. These days the streets are flooded with patriots and democrats, I hear. What can I do? They are a set of fools. So far I have thought I'm not serving my prison term here, but practicing austerities. Don't worry too much about me since I mean to practice austerities for ten years, nay, for twenty years to come. I'm no politician. This is an age of politics. So I'm merely doing what I ought to as one of the citizens."

It is said that Kim Ji Ha was in good mood and also fairly in good health. Meanwhile, Paek Gi Wan imprisoned for the last year's YWCA case is suffering from the aftereffect of the torture. He is paralyzed on one side and is undergoing an intolerable pain in the leg of the other side. His application for bail to get medical treatment is utterly ignored.

The April 1 session of the Reinstatement Measures Council discussed the questions of those still imprisoned, those still not reinstated, after the release, and many of those still not permitted to return to work. More than 1,370 people were imprisoned as political offenders under 7 years of Pak

Jung Hi's Yusin system. On February 29 this year the government announced that 687 people restored their citizenship. But the actual figure was below 680. Even according to this official announcement, over 700 people at least are still not reinstated. It is said that this time they reinstated only those political offenders who had violated Emergency Decree No. 9. But Bishop Chi Hak Sun, a violator of Emergency Decree No. 4, is reinstated in violation of equal justice under law. Professors Li Yong Hui and Paek Rak Chong too are allowed to restore their rights although they were indicted on a charge of violating the Anti-Communist Law.

A lot of inconsistent facts were pointed out at the RMC session. Many people like Kim Dae Jung are restricted in their political freedom though they are reinstated. Some are deprived of the freedom of writing. Kim Jae Gyu's case is a high treason, not a murder case. But it is not being tried in such a way as to convince the whole nation. This was also called in question. The families of those involved in this case are now under strict surveillance. The families of those executed or imprisoned in the "People's Revolutionary Party case" in 1975 too are being shadowed and intimidated still now. The corrupt forces are trying hard to cover up the evils of the past. These are matters standing now. Hence, the RMC renewed its resolution that human rights should be restored to all the convicted political offenders and their families.

A 32-year-old student who had returned to his campus this spring after an interval of 8 years told me through his tears: "A committee for reinstating the victims of political trials has been organized in our university. To begin with, we are going to launch a signature campaign and give lectures on the present state of human rights. There are numerous people who are excluded from reinstatement this

time because of the administration of all laws except Emergency Decree No. 9. Let me cite one instance of the misuse of the National Security Law and Anti-Communist Law. The campus spy case which created a great public sensation belongs to this category. They arrested the dissident students first on a charge of violating laws on assembly and demonstration. In such case, the KCIA had scattered handbills itself and then passed the buck to the students before announcing its detection of the 'black October gang', a name remindful of a Palestinian guerrilla. The students involved in this case have nothing to do with reinstatement. No one knows when they will stretch their black hands to our university again. The remnants may get their strength back soon and pounce upon us again on their divide-and-sever principle. I cannot repress my surging feelings of unrest and wrath till all those numerous victims are relieved throughout the country."

Ra Sok Ho, once an assemblyman, wrote an article, "Many Are Still to Be Reinstated", commenting on how the question of reinstatement was treated politically. The monthly *New Tonga*, however, could not carry this article because the martial law authorities seized it through censorship. Dailies *Tonga Ilbo* and *Choson Ilbo* which are allegedly to be the vanguards of press freedom and democracy still fail to reinstate their reporters who were expelled in March 1975 while calling for press freedom. There had been 114 expelled journalists belonging to the Tonga Struggle Committee for the Defence of Press Freedom. But they lost two comrades Chio Min Gi and Li Ui Sik. On February 29 they lost another one, its chairman An Jong Pil. He died of the liver cancer which he had got in prison. Their grudge, therefore, is more excruciating.

Before the spirit of the late chairman An, Song

Gon Ho, ex-managing director of *Tonga Ilbo*, made a memorial address in tears. Here is one of its clauses:

"Please shake off your grudge, brother. You have won a victory. Everyone in this world has come to admit that you're right. You have found life out of death and are honoured with glory. But today all the colleagues of the Tonga Struggle Committee have gathered before your spirit and are weeping noiselessly. Your comrades whom you loved so much in your life and who have fought in close unity are now weeping here."

Can't democracy grow without the death of such righteous people, such tragedy, such excruciating pains? Chairman An said this in his hospital bed, I hear:

"My mind is very peaceful these days. I have placed everything under the care of God. My hatred towards director Kim Sang Man of *Tonga Ilbo* too has faded away. I only pray every day to God for making him repent of his misconduct, reinstate us and tread the right road of the press. All hatred, disagreement and bodily strain die out to make me feel at ease as I read the Bible and pray every day. Let everyone offer a prayer. I believe God will surely answer the prayers breathed by so many people."

More than 150 female workers of the Tongil Textile Company in Inchon who were poured over with excretions before getting their cards on February 21, 1978 are also crying for their reinstatement. South Korea will never be stabilized till those who ruled over and repressed people waive their privileges and those expelled return to their normal position as citizens. Nor will it be possible till then to shed off immorality and walk the road of democracy.

South Korea cannot be democratized by the democracy on the lips of those who, entrenched in power, are crooning politics. It may be said that the barometer of south Korean democracy is the reinstatement of the expelled people who have been maltreated so far. It may be safe to say that so long as those who have been shunned are unable to take part in history, it is an endless continuation of reaction.

REPORTS FROM PUSAN AND KWANGJU

Apr. 17, 1980

Democracy under the Yusin Constitution is but an absurd assertion. It is hardly possible for anyone with a regular occupation to become a political party member. The case is somewhat different in the ruling party. Its members can get some income. But this is quite inconceivable within the opposition parties. Now these ruined parties are said to strive to establish a democratic government in the future. This only makes people feel inconsolable and discontented.

The military is tough in its position to punish Kim Jae Gyu. It is because he committed the greatest crime under the Yusin system. He must repay the presidential assassination with his own life even to prevent its recurrence. But the Army Security Commander Chon Du Hwan group are innocent even when they murdered soldiers on guard and arrested over 40 high-ranking officers and expelled them. The

Martial Law Commander Chong Sung Hwa may be suspected of having a hand in Pak's assassination. But in order to find the explanation of the expulsion of the other officers, which part of law under the Yusin system should we refer to? Still now as under the Pak regime, the strength is justice and law. Nothing has changed. For all this, they are allegedly said to be steadily following the road of democracy. I cannot help doubting myself if I were not in a dilemma.

Hosts of people are still vague and uncertain in their expression and attitude. Many intellectuals talk about democracy, in words. But when it comes to publicize their clear views, they shrink back in no time. The social consciousness of intellectuals remains unchanged. They belong to the stratum which is afraid of losing what it owns. Precisely for this reason, the dark clouds of cynicism towards a democratic future are hanging over them. The provincial situation is still darker. There are a small number of democratic champions. Their supporters are the ordinary poor people. Hopes may rather be pinned upon Kim Ji Ha's lumpen-proletariat.

My friend's report from Pusan, too, said of the similar situation. A small number of young students went into action. They organized a good-book union and made its bookstore their base of action. The Amnesty International branch in Pusan showed a brisk activity. As for the church, a few people talked about human rights and held a lecture meeting. Discredit with the military is very great in the Pusan area too. People there think that a President of a civilian government can display his real ability only when the top echelon of the present military is overthrown and the military really sits on the fence. The KCIA seems to begin raising its head a bit, but report every affair to the Army Security Command. Interesting is my friend's comment on

the popular uprising that broke out in Pusan last year:

“That revolt was really an unorganized one. Young people felt that Pusan was good for nothing when resistant movements were breaking out in other cities. Thus, a few students of the Pusan University started action, but the police cruelly repressed them. Unable to tolerate this, citizens rose up. Young people working in restaurants and the like were the first to join in the ranks of the fighting students. Police cars were unable to pass as citizens overcrowded the streets. Looking at students from roof-tops, some citizens signaled them where the police was. When policemen showed up, the students slipped among the crowds in the market and got themselves behind the shutters of shops. They came out again and shouted when the police went out of sight. In the evening the streets were flooded with citizens. Martial law was nothing to them. The intrusion of army men turned the place into shambles. They thrashed any dubious passers-by. They dragged away some 3,500 people. The indignation of the Pusan citizens reached the crowning point when the parachute troops or the special combat unit, on order of the Presidential Security Chief Cha Ji Chol, came into the city just like occupying an enemy area. That unit consists of six corps, each keeping 6,000 men. Thus, 30,000 men of its five corps entered Pusan. It was really a horrible sight.”

Despite the preferential treatment of the Pak regime, North Kyongsang Province rose up like this. Asked if it was motivated by the expulsion from the national assembly of the NDP Chief Kim Yong Sam who hailed from that region, my friend said:

“Discontent was smouldering there. It was not directly related to the NDP. Among the arrested

there was only one NDP member. It was not a political revolt. In Pusan some poor people live near the heart of the city. Their discontent about the wide gulf between rich and poor reached its extremity and erupted at last. Also great was the discontent of the ultra-small traders in the international market about heavy taxation. Restaurant workers fought most furiously together with the students."

Touching upon the political consciousness of people around Pusan, he went on:

"Peasants and workers have been so far left uninformed of Kim Dae Jung. Things may be changed in the future since newspapers have started to report about him. Kim Dae Jung finds very great support in Pusan. He is a man of large caliber and has his own philosophy. They think he is equal to finding the solution of the economic problem, the problem of bridging the wide gulf between rich and poor. If he appears himself at the time of election, he'll win the overwhelming support. Once martial law is lifted, Kim Jong Pil will incur denunciation from all sides for his immorality and corruption. The Prime Minister Sin and the Army Security Commander Chon Du Hwan seem to have joined hands with each other. A rumour has it in Pusan that Chon Du Hwan accompanied by more than 20 guards appeared at the US army golf links only to be driven back by the commander of the US armed forces."

This rumour about Chon Du Hwan may be false. But it must be the fact that he is in many mouths. The people's complaints against the military are growing louder because the business is dull and there are not orders from abroad under martial law. Questioned whether there had been no death in the Pusan incident, my friend remarked:

"I heard it had caused the death of 5-6 persons at least. But there is no way to confirm it. It is said that as one girl student was missing, a written petition was being passed round. Some said many had been killed, but others insisted they might have seen many people falling in the strong gas used by the police in the Pusan incident. That gas was strong enough to make people lose their senses for two or three hours. Many unconscious people were carried away by KCIA men in trucks, but all fetched their breaths later. If many had really lost their lives, there must be varied rumours now, I suppose."

My friend from Pusan specially talked about the environmental pollution in the Ulsan industrial zone. Rice and fish have become inedible there. A cow fed with rice straw is said to have met her end. Most of the enterprises there are companies of the Japanese line. Japan should conduct an overall investigation of such situation with a good conscience for the sake of her normal relations with south Korea, shouldn't she? My friend insisted that Japan should seek a reasonable and practical way to improve and reform her relations with a democratic government in the future. To curb this course, however, he added, Japan must be still hoping for the continuation of such a regime as Pak's. He also told me about the labour question. The bus conductresses in Pusan work from 4 a.m. till 12 p.m. They are unable to work without awakening drugs.

That day I was also able to chat with my friends from Kwangju, South Cholla Province, an area that had been left out of account under the Pak regime. They showed me the "white paper on venal professors of the Chonnam University" worked out by the expelled students who could return to their university in March this year, and a written appeal of the workers of the Honam Electric Company in

Kwangju.

"The Pak regime tried to build up its base with those from Kyongsang Province where Pak Jung Hi was born. He employed the method of granting some people a privilege to use them in repressing others. This method proved to be ineffective later even in Kyongsang Province. In the army the rate of generals from Kyongsang Province to those from Cholla Province was 20 to one. This one general had to show the greatest sincerity in his service in order to survive in an atmosphere of encirclement. Pak applied this method to his administrative rule over Cholla Province. This pus will ooze out in the future. Most of the cosy houses built along the expressway do not belong to farmers now. After erecting them through the New Village Movement, they had to quit them unable to pay off their debts. Urban dwellers bought them. This rural district has been turned into a place where those having private cars in Seoul make week-end trips. The agricultural cooperative is an organization for bleeding the peasants white. Fertilizers and agricultural medicines are supplied, farming funds furnished and rice purchased all through the medium of the agricultural cooperative. But the peasants cannot take part in its management. It is no more than the successor to the Oriental Development Company at the time of Japanese imperialist rule. On the plea of levelling fields, it carries away fertile soil, but does not remove the rocks newly exposed in the fields. There are no longer two croppings as barley cultivation doesn't pay. Vegetable cultivation fails to cover even cartage. Onion cultivation was encouraged. But a large amount of onions are spoiled in the fields. The agricultural cooperative doesn't offer the market for them. Nor does it indemnify the losses. There is a complete lack of agricultural administration. Under

such situation the Catholic Agricultural Land Council has striven to open the eyes of the peasants, braving repression. These days they are not allowed even to assemble under martial law. This has made the peasant problem more serious. Peasants quit farmlands only to increase absentee landlords. What we need is not mere democracy, but a leading force capable of improving the present situation."

Then my friends expressed their doubt as to whether Kim Yong Sam really has convictions on democracy, zeal for reforms and an ability to carry them out. Our conversation was shifted to the democratic movement of the students of the Chonnam and Choson Universities. The Choson University authorities interfered with a students' meeting for the democratization of campus and its athletic teacher beat a student so hard that the latter required hospital treatment. When the president turned down the demand of the students for an interview with him, the students occupied his room and destroyed the utensils there. This reportedly led the university to a temporary closure. Professor Song Gi Suk of the Chonnam University, who was expelled and imprisoned in 1978 for deploring the miserable educational situation by issuing the declaration, "Our Educational Index", is not reinstated as yet. The reason is that the notice of his dismissal is not removed though he has restored his citizenship.

The students press the venal professors hard. According to the "White paper on venal professors of the Chonnam University", they raised the following five points as the grounds for their struggle:

1. To promote the social purification movement on a nationwide scale;
2. To recover national conscience;
3. To strive for the autonomy of the campus;
4. To strive for the normalization of the campus;

5. To achieve a great amity between the university staff members.

Having decided to condemn as small number of professors as possible, the students are demanding eight professors to resign and another eight to abandon their administrative posts. Detailed in their white paper are the reasons why each of those professors should practice self-control. It is pointed out, for instance, that they spoke or wrote in praise of the Yusin rule or witnessed against the arrested students at court. The president of the Chonnam University has tendered a written resignation and this university is expected to be normalized. On this situation, my friend, professor of the said University, commented:

“The rooms of the reinstated professors are overcrowded with students. These professors are striving to bring the campus question to an amicable settlement. In our Chonnam University, too, a cry was raised for the expulsion of 30 venal professors, but an agreement was reached on expelling only eight. The students are filled with the firm determination not to have their bitter past repeated.

But they feel they have gloomy prospects ahead. The prolonged enforcement of martial law makes them nervous. They think the specter of Yusin is still haunting. Though the campus has become active again, the local public in general is still wrapped in a thick veil of silence. None of the venal professors who took students off to the police or the KCIA is admitting their fault now. The students maintain that the university should represent the conscience of the nation. But they are very circumspect. They practice self-restraint while carefully watching the move of the military. Though they have not received a democratic training at all, I believe their sound

judgement would help them push their way through difficulties. Isn't it miraculous that the students had seldom cooperated with the Pak regime? The dictatorship can't set them in motion. Even those appointed as cadres of the Student Defence Corps were passive in fulfilling their entrusted mission and hardly left the ranks of their colleagues. There is no conflict among the students. Some students are radical while others are fairly moderate. But this is a matter of their strategy. Through democratic consultation, they choose the most realistic road. This may be ascribed to the long tradition of the struggle they have waged in one body against power."

It may be said that no dictatorial power has ever been able to mobilize the popular masses in the history of south Korea. Even though they themselves lack strength to resist, they have respect and love for the elite of resistance. Even though they were unable to keep up with the political trends, none of them had ever expelled a fighting pastor from the church. This is because they share the same feelings towards the sufferings undergone for justice. The topic of conversation with the friends from Kwangju was drifted at last to the question of enterprises in that region. The enterprises which have found their way lately to once neglected Cholla Province are all said to be pollutional ones. Worse still, their owners are those who, as local bosses, had committed all rampant acts under the Pak regime. One of them is the Ilsin Spinning Mill which runs a Christian university in Seoul. It forces its female workers to go to the church and pays them after subtracting the collection from their meagre wages. It is said that a big church has become an addendum to this factory.

My friends cited the Honam Electric Industrial Company in Kwangju as the worst case. Its head is

also the proprietor of *Chonnam Ilbo*, Chonnam Radio and a tourist hotel. This helps keep the workers' sufferings from the general public. Violence was done to those workers who intended to mount a union activity. A storm of dismissal is now raging in this company. In a written appeal of the expelled workers, which is by me now, they wrote in detail about their sorry plight. Under the thumb of this boss 1,400 workers are now groaning. Their highest monthly salary is 62,700 *won* for a male worker and 34,200 *won* for a female worker. In spite of it, this company has so far been granted every special favour and lent the government's help in suppressing its workers, on the ground that it produces storage batteries for export and the army. There was no end to such a sad story. And as the conversation proceeded, the wishes of my friends developed into a longing for a reliable and virtuous leader.

KIM DAE JUNG AND HIS ENVIRONMENT

Apr. 17, 1980

At last on March 26 the ex-KCIA Chief Li Hu Rak condemned the Republican Party head Kim Jong Pil as a corrupt person devoid of any sense of duty and requested his resignation, thus kicking up a row. As a result, Li Hu Rak and other national assemblymen who had been demanding the purge of the Party were read out of the Republican Party. In sober truth, almost all the Republicans have amassed fortunes by wielding their authority. If

one is to approach a democratic system in the future in company with such people, it may be a too optimistic way of thinking divorced from the reality. The people are keeping silence now under martial law, but really great is their indignation with those who have made money by brandishing power.

The opposition New Democratic Party too is retaining a big force that, bought off by power, has remained silent and made this Party powerless to become obedient to the system. It is a problem how this force will act in the future. I hear a *News Week* article introduces a veteran foreign diplomat's view that Kim Yong Sam lacks ability, Kim Dae Jung is too radical and Kim Jong Pil is too corrupt. The chances are against Kim Jong Pil so long as the opposition party remains undivided. On this account, the enterprises belonging to his faction are pouring their money into "Kim Yong Sam's safe" while the military is attacking Kim Dae Jung as a dyed-in-the-wool radicalist. The article is said to write that if things go on like this, there is a possibility for President Choe Gyu Ha or Prime Minister Sin Hyon Hwak to stand for presidential election under the support of the military. The American ambassador to south Korea is insisting that he is not that veteran diplomat. Introducing the *News Week* article, a south Korean newspaper writes that the odd thing is that neither that diplomat nor *News Week* did assess Choe and Sin while picking a hole in the coat of each of the three Kims. Lacking any concrete data supporting its comment on the three Kims, the newspaper adds, it is hardly to be a responsible report.

According to a rumour, the military hopes for the continuation of the present situation where it can poke its nose in every affair as it pleases. Choe Gyu Ha has no ambition while Sin Hyon Hwak is a high-flier. The latter has been fulfilling his ambition by

keeping himself close to power from the time of Syngman Rhee's Liberal Party in the 1950's. The present government of Choe Gyu Ha is the system of Sin's alignment with the Chon Du Hwan-led military. Now more often than not Sin mouths about his support to the Yusin system and the prolonged enforcement of martial law in an abrupt manner. This is Chon Du Hwan's ad balloon lifted to sound out the public sentiments through Sin's mouth. The military, however, has given up Choe Gyu Ha as too incompetent and doesn't think Sin Hyon Hwak can win in a fair election. Such being the case, another rumour says, the military may support Kim Dae Jung after all. The reason is that some plutocrats too feel the need of Kim Dae Jung's moral image and ability in maintaining the economy while abating above all the discontent and resistance of the people, the workers in particular, and promoting stability. But there will be twists and turns before things go this way.

The veteran diplomat's comment on the three Kims may be American's and more or less true. But it has much of an advertising nature. So far the US embassy in south Korea has manipulated the public opinion. Before foreign reporters or invited south Korean pressmen, it would say one time that Kim Jong Pil comes up to its expectations and the other time that a democratic choice may be made between Kim Jong Pil and Kim Yong Sam through their fair game. If Choe and Sin come to the surface, Kim Jong Pil, not to mention Kim Dae Jung and Kim Yong Sam, will offer resistance to them. This will cast a darker shadow of uneasiness over the society. The Kim Jong Pil faction is much displeased with the military which examined Li Hu Rak's sharp criticism on Kim and reported it as it was without omitting a single word. Pak Jong Gyu who made his fortune as Pak Jung Hi's Security Chief is fac-

ing criticism in and out of the Republican Party as a corrupt element. But Kim Jong Pil seems to be now withholding it within the Party. The attack on the venal professors and corrupt characters in power will grow stronger when martial law is lifted in the future. It is believed that the situation under martial law and after its removal will be not less different than that before and after Pak Jung Hi's assassination. When the current closed-door politics comes to an end, the public opinion and support will serve more as the first factor decisive of political situation.

It may be said that Kim Dae Jung has started moving towards this morrow. His primary concern is democratization. Any power seized in a state of non-democracy is out of his concern. On April 7 he issued a statement that he had no intention to join the New Democratic Party. The reason is said to be that the NDP, Kim Yong Sam in particular, hadn't expressed sincerity to take in the democratic forces out of office. Though Kim Yong Sam had conceded to receive them by increasing the fixed number of the central standing membership by 100 from 300, he insisted that 50 of them should be recommended by the major stream, that is, by his faction, and the rest 50 by the non-major stream. Moreover, he held that those 50 should be probationary membership till the all-Party congress is held and that they should be examined by the Party organization. This gave rise to the resistance of the democratic forces. One of them observed:

"They are going to take in the persons who have fought so far, while keeping the Kim Yong Sam-led system as it is. The New Democratic Party has been parasitic on the Pak regime. It requires an extensive cleanup and reformation. Now its anti-democratic forces, following their own convenience, are trying to examine the democratic forces which had been

imprisoned and expelled under the Pak regime; and to put them in a corner of the NDP. What on earth can we do there? They wish we'll serve merely as a showpiece for them in seizing power. If we join the NDP as its members we ought to obey its orders. This may lead us to quitting the struggle we have waged so far. To make the matters worse, the NDP will surely jolt badly soon due to its abnormal constitution, the pressure from the military, the shortage of its political funds, etc. This means defiling our image before the people. It is too naive to believe that the NDP with such constitution and in such posture will be able to lead a new age. Just as the expelled professors and students think they ought not to return to the campus before its internal reformation, so we don't want to join the NDP before its internal reformation. It is height of folly that this political party which had lived upon Yusin, now guided by its own interest, is going to examine the democratic forces which have offered every conceivable sacrifice. This country has lost all moral standards. Something like political ethics is hardly to be seen."

My friend's remarks were pungent. While maintaining the old system of the NDP it is impossible to keep up the reformative intention of the democratic forces. Kim Dae Jung can no longer engage in politics by bargaining with a political party. The people today are unlike what they were in the past. They are cleverly watchful and inquisitive. Even now they don't trust Kim Yong Sam and the NDP which can hardly have any real intention for reform. They know the NDP has long proved false to their trust. The democratic forces which are not disposed to go against the people's wishes for reform have now decided to give up an easy compromise with the NDP, although they meant to come to terms with it

for the sake of political realism. The same friend stressed, and went on:

“The people demand that a new democratic government be upright and pure, to begin with. Though the Yusin remnants think they cannot prolong their days without putting up the image of the departed Pak Jung Hi, it will fall to pieces the moment the door is open for the people to take part in politics. Then whether it is the NDP or not will be out of question. The point is how the people will take it. Its members at present are no more than a group of the unemployed as all its normal members have been excluded by the political party law. It is not in reason to call this political party without revising its law a democratic one representing the people's will. Those many democratic champions are the persons who have striven not for political interests but for political principles. Our joining the present political party will only blemish our image. If it fails to become a political party of new meaning, we will stand outside it and keep up our struggle for democratic principles. Then the people will not despair of democracy even though they may be disappointed with the present political party. Kim Dae Jung too will not change principle for compromise, though it may place him in an awkward dilemma.”

Kim Dae Jung's refusal to join the NDP has much diminished the possibility for putting up the single presidential candidate of the opposition party. This has thrown the people into a whirlpool of unrest. But it is a good thing that the mass media are very prudent. Democracy always disputes in confrontation. In this sense, democracy is always in an uproar. The important thing is not to make every dispute run off the democratic rule. Reasoning the

people this way, newspapers are commenting on the relations between Kim Dae Jung and Kim Yong Sam. And they allude to their belief that these two persons are not so foolish as to be defeated by the Yusin remnants. In view of such prudence, we may say these newspapers too have grown. Everybody is prudent like this seemingly because they don't think the future of this country is not optimistic. Quite a few people think that even if a democratic government is established, the mass media will not merely agitate the people but work in such a way as to take responsibility for national difficulties. It will be important to assume a posture as wished by the people, not hindering or restraining their wish.

Newspapers report that the Army Security Chief Chon Du Hwan has started acting for the KCIA Chief. It is his additional office. This is a shocking news. Under martial law no one raises his voice against this. Kim Dae Jung alone in his lecture at the Hanguk Theological Seminary yesterday on April 16 noted that Chon's acting for the KCIA Chief "occasioned the people much anxiety" and said that he would "closely watch" how it would act on the development of democracy.

This lecture given at the Theological Seminary started at 10 a.m. with the attendance of well over 40,000, nay, 50,000. Its sponsor asked: "Since this is a students' meeting, all outsiders had better go home." But they didn't hear. As there was no help for it, a loudspeaker was installed so that all the people could hear the lecture. Of course, such an outdoor meeting was prohibited under martial law. So the sponsor switched off the loudspeaker. But overpowered by an riotous atmosphere, he had to switch on it again. The audience did not leave the place for 50 minutes even after the lecture. They walked encircling Kim Dae Jung's car ring upon ring, shouting time and again, "President Kim Dae

Jung!" The subject of his lecture that day was the "Realization of Moral Politics".*

Chon Du Hwan's acting for KCIA Chief evidently means his intention for open participation in politics. And it is also clear that Choe Gyu Ha's government is placed under the brutal force, terrorism or intrigues of the military group headed by Chon. They will try to use the KCIA organization and its stupendous funds above all in attaining their political purpose. Has the force necessarily come to the surface, relying on its strength? But it may be a perilous adventure of those forgetting their own place. If they mean to extend their power endlessly as was the case with Pak Jung Hi, this power will live much shorter than Pak's. It is because the people of south Korea along with its history have much grown and are forging ahead. It is also a dangerous political game to destroy the dream of the people from the outset, that is, their ardent wish for the establishment of a civilian democratic government. At present the people keep mum under martial law. It is not because they are submissive to the brutal force of some armymen but they are quietly watching over the road of democracy. And Chon Du Hwan himself has taken office as the KCIA Chief. This may be taken to mean that none else of his group dares to play that hopeless evil act or that he has no trustworthy man under him.

His group is so much cranky. Hence, a rumour had it that there had been a great trouble in filling the vacancy of the KCIA Chief. It will probably be the democratic forces and Kim Dae Jung himself that will have to fight with this reactionary violence again from now on, braving all personal sacrifices. Then the people will more clearly see what political forces they should choose. Kim Dae Jung seems to have decided to make personal contacts with people as much as possible. There are indications that he

considers it still premature to lash the democratic forces to the framework of a certain political party.

In conclusion, I should like to cite a few passages from Kim Dae Jung's speech made on March 26 at the YWCA Wednesday course. More than 10,000 people rushed to the hall which can accommodate only 400-500 at the utmost. Kim's car could not proceed. Pushed by young people, it barely reached the hall. The subject of his speech was the 'Nation's Soul'. Recalling at first the fact that that day was the date of the death of martyr An Jung Gun who shot Ito Hirobumi to death, he opened his speech with the unique definition of the nation's soul. Then he introduced his family precepts: "Be faithful to God and the people. Hew out your fate for yourself. Never make a fortune." It is impossible to introduce here all of his eighty-minute speech. So I will only quote a few passages expressive of his political views.

"...To be plain with you, I'm not so much charmed with the succeeding power. The political world is in a chaotic state. Saving this situation is like plunging one's head into a *kimchi* hole. ...I'm grateful even for keeping myself alive now. If only democracy is established in this country, if only freedom is recovered to our people so that they do not live in tears and agony again, if only the democracy of this country strikes its strong roots, national security is firmly guaranteed and the north and the south are reunified to make our children not stand before guns, I too, as Kim Gu observed, will not feel any regret even if I become an office boy of the central government, let alone Prime Minister or a national assemblyman."

Kim Dae Jung said that when he had been kidnapped in Tokyo, they had schemed to dismember him and shove it into a knapsack, but as things had

not gone as they wished, they had anesthetized him before bundling him away. He praised the nation's soul and appealed to carrying it forward. As some ways to be mended in future, he called for guarding against the misuses of power and expelling the opportunists.

...For one year to come we must tread the road of trials, crossing rivers and mountains. It is hard to say definitely that there will be an election next year. But I think I should strengthen the defense as a lookout of democracy together with you. No one can stop the surging waves of history, the grand march of the people and the earth-shaking cry for democracy.

He insisted that though a coming democratic government has to take in even high-ranking officials of the old system, its leading forces should be composed of the democrats in any case. He stressed that if it was nation's orders, he "would serve the people even if he were kidnapped ten times, imprisoned a hundred times and confined a thousand times" for the sake of democracy. It was a scene of wild excitement. Clapping and cheering burst forth more than 50 times. Kim Dae Jung asked the audience to go home without causing confusion. Thus the masses kept perfect order. Kim proposed them to gather by one or two million outdoors and discuss about state affairs when martial law was lifted. He is a politician who thinks democracy, peace and unification are infeasible unless he takes root in this people, in their sense of justice and in their energy and mobilizes them. In any storm and rain he will continue to walk this path, keeping up his courage as he has done so far.

Who is now able to foretell the future of south Korea? Trying to foresee this future, many people

may be ready for siding with the strong. But the democratic champions, as they did under the Pak regime, will rather stand in the ranks of struggle for democracy and strive for shaping the destiny of the nation than addict themselves to that forecasting in vain. It may be said that as long as there is such a conscientious struggle, the future of south Korea is by no means gloomy.

There will come round soon the twentieth anniversary of the student revolution, April 19, 1960. Will it be allowed to commemorate the young students' bloody cry for freedom and democracy after a long abstinence?

Note: In the wake of this report, we have received another letter from T.K. which reads: "Some 100,000 people assembled to hear Kim Dae Jung's lecture given at the Tongguk University on April 18. Their enthusiasm was really tremendous. The subject of his lecture was 'April 19 Spirit and North-South Unification'".

3. DARKNESS COMES ON AGAIN

MIDNIGHT MARTIAL LAW

May 18, 1980

At last at 12 o'clock last night martial law was proclaimed throughout the country. Political activities have been prohibited, universities closed down and Kim Dae Jung and all other democrats rounded up. According to martial law, spreading false rumours or slandering the former and current heads of state is culpable. It is designed to show that Pak Jung Hi and Choe Gyu Ha are sacred and inviolable and, though Pak Jung Hi died, his departed soul is ruling this country as ever.

This afternoon the Martial Law Command announced that it had arrested Kim Jong Pil, Li Hu Rak and Pak Jong Gyu along with Kim Dae Jung and his supporters. Besides these three men, some other corrupt power elites are said to have been taken away for interrogation. They are arrested, so to speak, together with the democratic personages. Their number is announced to be 26. However, it seems that all the persons involved in the democratic movement except those fortunate escapees have been apprehended. In Seoul alone nearly 100 persons close to Kim Dae Jung were arrested—assemblymen Ye Chun Ho, Li Taek Don and Chong Dae Chol, all of his secretaries, Kim Jong Wan, Chairman of the Fellowship Society for Democratic Constitutional Politics, his supporter, Kim Sang Hyon, Director of the Hanguk Institute for the Study of Politics and

Culture, Kim Hong Il, his eldest son, and others. It is indeed a wholesale arrest. Not only that. Almost all of the 400 professors and students who had come back to their universities this spring were also arrested. The persons who had been jailed along with Kim Dae Jung in connection with the March 1 Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation in 1976 were all apprehended. Among the arrested were also participants in the labour movement, and men of the press and literature who had conducted democratic activities. Nevertheless, the martial law authorities made public that "26 persons are hauled off and are now under interrogation." They say they cannot publish the details out of their operational necessity for a sweeping hunt for enemies.

Have the army men of this country become reckless and cruel like this? Such rule of hatred had reached its zenith under the 18-year long Pak regime. The most serious consequences of this tragedy seem to be lingering in the military of south Korea. The army looks like a wolf pouncing upon the people, not their defender. Without making the military nationalistic and democratic the people of this country cannot live in peace. The people behaved carefully lest the military should cause trouble, but it has eventually raised a riot. What a tragedy will happen in the future? My pen drops from me at the thought of the days of such abominable tragedy to come. The conveying of this news may entail a greater danger. I must restrain myself from sending too many materials.

This afternoon, too, thousands of students demonstrated in front of Seoul Railway Station. A rumour has come to Seoul that the students and citizens in Kwangju, South Cholla Province, clashed with the martial law troops to cause bloodshed. Perhaps for that reason, troops, armoured cars and tanks are hurriedly leaving Seoul for the south. This

night, too, they are moving with a rumbling sound after imposing the curfew on the city. The history of this country, as shown by the recent proclamation of martial law and the ensuing roundup, is made in the night curfew hours. The Pak Jung Hi regime had long used these hours in times of election to quiet the citizens and the opposition party and perpetrate all kinds of election malpractices. As for the amendment of the Constitution which had evoked the wrath of the people, it had also been railroaded through the national assembly at midnight after driving out the opposition assemblymen. While repeating such evil deeds, that power had been reduced to violence. Now Chon Du Hwan and his ilk in the military intend to carry forward that violence when the people are crying for democracy.

It is also a wonderful thing that Kim Jong Pil, Li Hu Rak and Pak Jong Gyu, the core elements of the Pak regime, were arrested on a charge of having illegally accumulated wealth abusing power. Pak Jong Gyu, an assemblyman of the Republican Party who had wielded a violent authority as the Blue House Security Chief in the days of Pak Jung Hi withdrew from the party on May 13. And he said that he had demanded public investigation from the Choe Gyu Ha regime because he had never unlawfully amassed money. He once made up his mind to donate part of his fortune to the Republican Party in an attempt to prolong his existence by grovelling at Kim Jong Pil's feet. But he has suddenly changed his attitude. Seemingly judging that he will be unable to prolong his remaining days under Kim Jong Pil, he has gone over to the side of Chon Du Hwan. Thus Li Hu Rak and all the other remnants have gathered around Chon Du Hwan. They criticized Kim Jong Pil's weak-kneed line. They thought that his revisional line would eventually bring about the total ruin of the remnants and put an end to their li-

ves. Thus, Chon Du Hwan has been able to scrape up the money amassed illegally by the remnants besides his seizure of political power.

The national assembly has been out of session from the end of last year. It is due to the pressure of the Chon Du Hwan clique who think the national assembly should be kept in recess until Kim Jae Gyu, former KCIA Chief, who assassinated Pak Jung Hi, is executed. However, pressed by the people, pressmen and students, the government and non-government parties decided recently to open the national assembly on May 20. It is expected that at the national assembly they would unanimously demand the abolition of martial law and pass the bill for the constitutional revision while resolutely rejecting with the public support another draft for constitutional revision drawn up separately by the government. This has driven the military rule into a corner. The Chon Du Hwan clique have got angry with Kim Jong Pil who is aligned with such political forces digging their grave. That is why they arrest him this time. As for Kim Jong Pil he could not stand against the public opinion though he knew that it was unfavourable for him. It was because he judged that the road ahead of the history of south Korea was democratization. As a politician he could not follow the road taken by Chon Du Hwan. Meanwhile, Li Hu Rak and Pak Jong Gyu are on the same side with Chon Du Hwan. But they are arrested simply because it is unable to apprehend Kim Jong Pil alone. Besides these persons, there are numerous illegal money grubbers who accumulated money by abusing power. A certain person who serves as ambassador is said to have amassed more money than they did. Though they are reportedly under arrest, many people think they are now certainly resting quietly or leading a gay life somewhere else.

Seoul is now under a horrible terror rule. More than 100 tanks are leveling guns at the citizens.

It is really shameful and lamentable to see such people so cruel to the same blood. An Byong Mu, Professor of Hanguk Theological Seminary, who fell victim to an incurable heart disease in prison as a signer of the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation in 1976, has escaped the danger of imprisonment this time, for he was in the Seoul University Hospital just before the latest vandalism. But, this sick man who cannot move about and loses his senses sometimes is said to be under the surveillance of some 100 soldiers. This is not so much surveillance as a threat. The soldiers belonging to Chon Du Hwan think that if they retreat, they will be killed. So they take a "don't-care-attitude" to spare their own lives. The country and people mean nothing to them. A certain reporter friend, who called on me early this morning gave me this account:

"I have met most of high-ranking officers of the Martial Law Command. They are all high-handed, uneducated, impulsive and self-righteous. All those who survived and got promotion under the Pak regime seem to be like that. It is terrible to think that the life of the nation is left in the hands of such group. They are not the martial law troops but rough-neck troops. The paratroopers once under the control of Cha Ji Chol in the days of Pak Jung Hi will return. Their outrageous suppression led to the citizens' uprising in Pusan. Cha Ji Chol bragged that the regime might be maintained even though 200,000 people were killed, but he himself was shot to death. Chon Du Hwan was on intimate terms with him and they were of same mentality. According to an informed source of high-ranking officials of the Republican Party, Chon Du Hwan and Sin Hyon Hwak were eagerly talking about a plan for future

government at the funeral ceremony of Pak Jung Hi. It was how to maintain at any cost Pak Jung Hi's regime composed of those of Ryongnam (Kyongsang Province) origin. Obviously these two guys think of forming a party of their own while leaving the Kim Yong Sam-led New Democratic Party intact in order to use it to their advantage. So, power still remains in the hands of those of Kyongsang Provincial origin. Only Kim Yong Sam has escaped arrest. How will he act hereafter? Many people have a doubt about him. Now Chon Du Hwan does not allow even his aide-de-camp to carry a pistol. He is guarded by his dependable men 200 strong. It is already for long that he does not go home at night, staying at the Security Command. Can he stick to power this way?"

As another important fact, the journalist friend touched on the role of Choe Gyu Ha:

"He has been known so far as a man under disability who wishes to retire from the presidential post as soon as possible. However, he has often disclosed his real intention to pressmen, saying: There had been some difficulties. But, we are now out of the woods, for the government has succeeded in consolidating its foundation. Backed by the army, this government is strong. If the students get up a riot, several universities will be closed down to fix up it. The army should play its due role in such case. He on his part intends to stay in power by utilizing Chon Du Hwan and others. All those who had been under Pak Jung Hi are rapacious fellows turning their faces from the reality like him. He, too, must duly be called to account in the future. According to a funny story circulating among the students his laps are all black and blue since he has become President because he pinches them every day to see

whether he is not in dream. This may be the best expression of his feeling."

The same friend also explained the relations between Li Hu Rak and Kim Jong Pil. When Li Hu Rak visited America at the beginning of this year, he transferred the deposit of Pak Jung Hi to Pak's daughter. And, marshalling the remnants around him, he played a role of making them serve Chon Du Hwan and Sin Hyon Hwak. This was how martial law was proclaimed and the counterattack made against the democratic forces this time.

He continued:

"Kim Jae Gyu will surely be executed this time. It is said that because four judicial officers of the Supreme Court who had been in charge in his case resisted the directives of the military, it was decided that all the judicial officers were to undergo examination. Then, the life of Kim Dae Jung will be exposed to danger. Their logic is that they must keep their lives while their political rivals must throw away their lives. The main brunt of the latest attack was directed to Kim Dae Jung. They may push this country into darkness by slaughtering men without letup. Where are these roughnecks going to lead this country? These gangster-like guys may gag the people. But how can they rule the people and conduct the affairs of the state? They know this well, but there is no other alternative for them to prolong their lives."

These bestial soldiers may suppress the people. But they can by no means rule them. The people had never believed them to be such vandals. They can never rule this country by means of imprisoning thousands of conscientious people. This is the people's thought. Those guys have a great lack of com-

mon sense. When will they throw away their arms to remove this misfortune? It seems that horrible days will continue.

VIOLENCE AGAINST DEMOCRACY

May 18, 1980

Really many incidents happened recently. Labour disputes arose here and there, but were settled rather smoothly. Labour and management compromised on the terms of 20-30 per cent wage rise. Both sides were discreet enough to guard against the army's intervention in their affairs on the plea of social unrest.

But over 700 miners of the Tongwon Colliery in Sabuk town, Chongson County, Kangwon Province, rose in a bloody riot together with their family members and seized the town seat of 30,000 population. The 4-day riot glaringly showed the aristocracy of the paid trade union rather than the wretched plight of the coal miners. Its leaders and even their wives were lynched. The chairman of the trade union pocketed 70 million *won* of union funds and bought a six million-*won* car for private use. Needless to say, he drew special allowances from the KCIA and company management on the condition of helping them in repressing the workers.

Before the outbreak of this riot the management had insisted that if the new constitution gave the freedom of labour movement there would be no other way but to close down the colliery. But the recent

riot has brought the management to regard the trade union as a bargaining body useful to it. In this sense, the riot rather served the management as a case of turning misfortune into a blessing.

The wave of the drive to save Kim Jae Gyu's life has spread to universities. A pamphlet covering his notice of appeal and last statement is circulated and an ardent call for saving his life is often carried in the campus wall-paper *Taejabo*. This drive is unlikely to subside, though the publisher of the pamphlet was arrested on charge of violating decree. Two women who had been arrested at the time of the Masan citizens' revolt last autumn were set free in mid-April. Upon their release, they disclosed that they had been raped during police interrogation. There are too many problems to be settled for so-called "democratization with self-restraint", leaving the corruption and violence of the old regime intact.

Kim Dae Jung is also a topic of much discussion. His rivalry against Kim Yong Sam, the President of the New Democratic Party, caused no small disappointment among the people. Quite a few intellectuals deplored, saying that Kim Dae Jung, too, was falling away from his ideal by degree in the political climate of south Korea. They feared that he might have been degraded in the strife within the New Democratic Party of filthy constitution. May this be attributed to the escape of intellectuals from the actual politics?

On the contrary, expectations held by ordinary people for him grew. On May 6, 24 NDP members close to Kim Dae Jung had a get-together in his house to discuss the current political situation. It seemed that the Kim Dae Jung-lining members were numerically superior to the Kim Yong Sam-lining ones if the middle-of-the-roaders were excluded from the total of 66. In other words, there was a likelihood

that Kim Dae Jung would bring the majority of the NDP assemblymen under his control if the situation developed in his favour. Hence, the so-called Kim Yong Sam-lining holders of real power within the party blamed that get-together as the anti-Party move detrimental to the recovery of democracy.

However, the opposition intellectuals are strongly critical of the NDP assemblymen, its real power holders in particular. They held: You are too cringing before the military. You must rather adopt the schedule of democratization at the national assembly and demand cooperation from the government than urge the government to promote the schedule of democratization. Why does the national assembly concede the initiative to the government in the efforts for democratization? It is because you do not care for the delay of democratization since you hold the post of assemblyman and have nothing to lose out of it. Administering the affairs of state without any national assembly session over half a year means that it has given up politics and that the theatre of policy-making has been pushed outside it. That is why the irrepressible clamour for democratization is bursting out from among the students.

The people despair of the insincerity of the Choe Gyu Ha government. Needless to say, it is because the Choe government is fooling them in collusion with the Chon Du Hwan-led military. Prime Minister Sin Hyon Hwak has the record of having served prison term of three years and a half on a charge of committing election irregularities for the Syngman Rhee government at the time of the April 1960 revolution. So, he could not appear at the cemetery of the April 19 revolutionary martyrs on its anniversary this year. Corrupt figures like him had enjoyed prosperity at the time of the Pak regime, and this situation continues even now. The Choe government has put up him as Prime Minister to let

him prattle in an interview with foreign pressmen that there is no change in the schedule of democratization and that the Yusin system was a good one. People say Sin is playing hide-and-seek with the public opinion. In face of the public opinion, he would hide, but when it calms down he would show up to praise the Yusin system. Evidently the Choe government has no mind to adopt definite decisions on the constitutional revision and democratization schedule at a Cabinet meeting. This provides sufficient grounds for the people to assume that those decisions would be made to its taste in collusion with Chon Du Hwan. A rumour is afloat that it would wait for the result of the election in the United States and hold up the problem of democratization until that time. The Yusin remnants seem to think everything will go well with them if the Republican candidate wins the election.

The Choe government said that it is only promoting democratization as an interim government one time and suggested the other time that it is fully entitled to participate in a new government. Local reports say that the New Village Movement is still going on in praise of the Yusin system and that education and training are intensified in it. In case it is a cadre training, money is issued to them, a practice even unknown at the time of Pak Jung Hi. Those refusing to take it are openly threatened by the words that it is greatly mistaken if one thinks the Yusin system is over. Horrible anti-democratic intrigues are felt everywhere.

These days have been comparatively calm even in such situation. This is not because of the enforcement of martial law, but because the people have exercised self-restraint in consideration of the situation at home and abroad. But how long will this self-restraint last? This is the question.

There is no other alternative but to fight in case

the anti-democratic move is intensified. The day must come quickly when the journalists sacked because of their clamour for press freedom can return to their offices. The problem of the female workers dismissed from the Tongil Spinning Mill must be settled as well. All wept at the news that 18 of them became prostitutes. There is no gleam of spring on the victims of the Pak tyrannical rule, though democracy is said to be restored. Why should the conscientious offenders suffer sultry heat in prison this summer too? In late April their families staged a week sit-in in the Christian Hall. The force of martial law seems to have reached its limit. The military rule itself has seemingly reached its limit. The martial law authorities can no longer hush the voice against the news censorship. Illustrative of this is the "Declaration for Press Freedom" issued on April 17 on behalf of all the journalists of *Tonga Ilbo*. It reads in part:

"After the October 26 incident we have closely watched the developments of the situation, together with the people taking a resolute stance for the promotion of long-cherished democratization. Considering a full-scale struggle for democratization to be a historical necessity, we assert that the interim government should abandon the idea of keeping the old ruling system and withdraw emergency martial law quickly for the building of a democratic community. At the same time, we affirm that our today's declaration coincides with the aim of the free press movement waged so far to defend fair arguments for the establishment of democracy. Under the old system the free press movement suffered heteronomous division, and discredit, jealousy, curse and self-scorn prevailed among colleagues. Such tragedy must not repeat any longer."

The declaration includes the following resolution:

1. Pledging ourselves to be loyal to the people's right to know and the press' duty to inform, we pursue free press, extricating ourselves from all heteronomy—censorship, inspection, pressure, interference, etc.

2. Guarding against the old degraded practice of some intellectuals and pressmen who misused the parliamentary concept, doing harm to the state and society, we will take strict precaution against falsification of facts and catering to the public opinion, renew our posture for fair argument and unite ourselves with comradeship.

3. Sympathizing in principle with the basic spirit of the free press movement waged by the dismissed journalists, we agree in asserting that their problem should be settled in a rational and affirmative way.

4. In case unwarranted arrest, detention and sanction occur in the course of carrying out of our resolution, all the journalists will take joint action against them.

As can be seen, the resistance against anti-democratic violence was mounting in all spheres. The Yusin remnants were taken aback above all by mighty stream of struggle for campus freedom. So, they staged a surprise raid last night by recourse to excessive violence. What would come of such rampancy of the military? It might be cruel and awe-inspiring. But it is nothing but the death-bed convulsion of those whose days are numbered. At any rate, their violence destroyed in the long run the stability secured by the strong self-restraint on the part of the people. They croak about security whenever they like. But what should be done with the ever-mounting hatred of the people against the military?

AN EMERGENCY REPORT FROM KWANGJU

May 25, 1980

Seoul has been reduced literally to a land of darkness since the presence of the armed troops at the midnight of May 17. They are not armymen but mobs. Foreign pressmen, too, see them this way. Nevertheless, they have the cheek to call the sober-minded Kwangju citizens rioters. Now 40,000 soldiers seem to be stationing in Seoul. Nothing about it is reported in the newspapers. The journalists gave up their pens, saying that they would not write an article not to be carried in papers. Therefore, cadres themselves are editing papers which are no more than a bulletin board of the mobs government. The reporters are only allowed to describe the revolt of the Kwangju citizens as a conduct of "rioters", "spies of the north".

The military troops sent to Seoul are staying in the vacant buildings of the closed-down universities. They combed the buildings. They searched all the research rooms of professors and took away whatever came to hand. No one knows the list of confiscated things. From the morning of May 23 young men were drafted into the reserve army. It is said there will be the greatest drill of the reserve army ever known in history. This only means that the mobs have kidnapped citizens and confined them in advance for fear of their resistance. Yesterday, on

May 24, the police boxes in Seoul were forced to submit their weapons. No doubt, it was feared that those weapons might go to the hands of citizens. Only the armed troops would maintain public peace in Seoul. God only knows how many people were walked off for preliminary confinement. Those who escaped arrest as democrats are only such elders as ex-President Yun Bo Son and Ham Sok Hon and such religious leader as Cardinal Kim Su Hwan.

A few days ago there occurred an incident in front of the entrance of the Seoul University Hospital. A student, along with his sick mother, was going to enter the hospital, when he was checked by a soldier. The soldier beat him for no reason simply because he was a student. When his mother protested, the mob also knocked her down on the ground, depriving her of her senses. Like this, the soldiers behave like an aggressive army occupying a foreign country. This is the biggest violence by the army ever seen in the history of south Korea. From this morning all the roads leading to Seoul are closed and placed under control. Those going out of the city pass unchecked while those coming into it are examined. This is a measure taken to prevent weapons and information from flowing into Seoul from Kwangju. Kim Yong Sam, the President of the New Democratic Party, issued a tough statement after visiting the elders such as Yun Bo Son and Ham Sok Hon, and is now under house confinement. The stores in Seoul are inactive. In the black market the *won*-dollar exchange rate is said to have passed the mark of 650 *won* for one dollar (the official exchange rate is 580 *won* for one dollar) and to be on a steady rise. It is hard to obtain dollars even at that exchange.

To round up reports on the Kwangju incident received through my journalist friends and people in Seoul, it proceeded as follows: The number of

students who participated in the demonstration on the 19th, Monday was only some 200. To suppress them, helicopters were mobilized and the troopers threw pepper fog at them. This prompted them to take joint action. The troopers dashed into their midst and stabbed them with bayonets. The students started breaking up in face of the wild soldiers. But those who had fallen into their blockade were all murdered.

Watching the scene, a policeman protested, saying: "It's too cruel." But he was bayoneted by a soldier then and there and breathed his last. When an old man said, "Students are running away, but you going to the excess", he was also stabbed to death. Then the crowds pounced on the soldier and knocked him to death.

The soldiers brandished bayonets indiscriminately. They even stabbed children, saying: "Exterminate Cholla provincial bastards!" A soldier opened the window of a taxi and stuck a bayonet into the driver. His enraged colleagues drove their cars into the soldiers. The troopers reeled back and citizens snatched weapons from them.

Thus began the bloody showdown between troopers and citizens. On the 20th, five girl students were bayoneted to death on the streets. When the girl high-school students were going to go out to demonstrate, the troopers stripped two of them naked at the school gate and threatened other students, saying: "Still you dare to go out?" In the first day of confrontation, severely wounded people were gathered along with dead bodies in front of the provincial government office. The military troops kicked and trampled them to death. One escaping demonstrator met his death by a bayonet thrown from behind. Corpse was found to be minus the head and limbs. The soldiers combed all the houses in search of demonstrators, thrusting their

bayonets into the ceiling.

When doctors and nurses were treating the heavily injured students of the Kwangju Christian Hospital, the troopers broke into the room on the second floor, beat them out and threw one heavily injured man undergoing operation out of the window. The doctors flew into a rage and protested: "It is more cruel than wartime. It is prohibited to attack the hospital even in an engagement with the enemy." The soldiers denuded the resisting women, tied them up to trees and then stabbed their bodies with bayonets. It was to threaten the citizens and strike terror into their hearts. But it rather enraged the citizens and expanded the conflicts.

According to the figures published by the committee for coping with the situation in Kwangju on May 24, the number of confirmed corpses is 92. But in Seoul there is a rumour that the killed numbered 400-500 and the wounded 10,000. Included in the corpses are many primary school children, said a report. The citizens could drive away the military troops because they placed a machine gun taken from the police on the roof-top of the building of the medical faculty of Chonnam University and fired at the troops. It was the notorious paratroops, that is, air-borne troops, that committed such barbarities in Kwangju. So, afterwards, they were replaced by the ordinary martial law forces.

Because of the Kwangju incident armed resistance is spreading to all parts of South Cholla Province and the situation in Mokpo, too, seems to be critical. But all this is little known to Seoul except the situation in Kwangju. Due to the shortage of food and fuel in Kwangju 2,000 citizens have already quit there. If the city was not under the siege of the martial law forces, more than half of its population would have left there.

It is presumed that during the Kwangju incident there seemed to be confrontation even within the martial law troops. This is a hopeful observation. Because the situation cannot be saved unless the Chon Du Hwan-led mobs are driven out of the military through its internal conflicts. Now in the Seoul University Hospital, it is said, there is a ward to which no one is allowed access. A rumour has it that it keeps army men. It seems that immediately before the outbreak of the current incident there occurred an armed clash between the hawks and doves in the military, and thus some got wounded.

Now the martial law forces are going to charge into Kwangju as if it were an enemy position. This reflects the thought of Chon Du Hwan and his cohorts that if they occupy and control Kwangju in such threatening manner, there would be no the second, third Kwangju incidents even under the mobs' rule. Many people lament that the democratic forces miscalculated the strength of the remnants though the latter too misreckoned the resistance power of the people. The people's feelings of hatred against Chon Du Hwan are sky-high. "Kill devilish Chon Du Hwan!"—the Kwangju people shout like this. They fought valiantly for a week. They acted orderly, not carried away by blind emotion. It was an isolated battle without outside aid. Why did the Chon Du Hwan group attack the students who announced the suspension of demonstration? How can this guy who has made such a tragedy continue to stay in power to prolong his remaining days? He may continue to frantically engage in last-minute manoeuvres, digging his own grave. Certainly, it seems that south Korea is now in a state of civil war.

The atrocities committed by Chon Du Hwan and his paratroopers, that is, air-borne troopers, are

beyond imagination. There existed a group similar to the Mafia in which Pak Jung Hi was called god-father in his lifetime. Involved in it were Cha Ji Chol who was killed together with Pak at the time of the October 26 incident, and Chon Du Hwan. That group insisted that the government could be maintained even though 200,000 people were killed. The people think that the air-borne troopers could not have committed such outrageous acts, if they had been sober-minded. No doubt, they must have been administered with hallucinogenic drugs or overcome with liquor. How could they commit such barbarities against the peaceful citizens of the same blood? It is hardly believable. But this was the very nature of the Pak regime and Pak Jung Hi was guarded by such human thugs. They are a pack of two-legged beasts.

Now in Seoul a rumour is going about that Chon Du Hwan has been to Washington in secret. Its chief aim might be to eliminate Kim Dae Jung. Probably as a result of the Japanese government's successful persuasion, the United States, the Pentagon in particular, is said to have come to take a negative attitude towards Kim Dae Jung's advance. Chon Du Hwan, too, appears to have made a considerable success in attacking Kim Dae Jung by branding him as a Red. But he has caused the latest incident out of irritation because the United States did not hold out its hands to eliminate Kim. And the latest military outrage seems to be a breach of the promise he had made to the United States. It is said, however, that he ascribes it to the lack of Americans' resolute steps against Kim Dae Jung. It is also said that in a series of such movements former Prime Minister Sin Hyon Hwak, too, visited Washington in secret. And right after the outbreak of the recent incident Gun Hye, the eldest daughter of Pak Jung Hi also left for a

certain country. Her act presumably has a major bearing on Pak's property abroad, which is said to amount to 4,000 million dollars. Will she use this huge amount of money in strengthening Chon Du Hwan's rule?

Kim Dae Jung's life is again at stake. A scenario is being arranged to show that he is a Red and that he instigated the students and citizens to occupy even the Blue House. And there is a manoeuvring to link him with the Kwangju incident, particularly with the influence of the north which was allegedly exerted on it. Now torture may be inflicted on him every day to courtmartial him on a charge of being a Red. And his supporters, too, may be to be made witnesses against him. According to a secret report, pastor In Myong Jin engaged in the labour movement has already got his legs maimed by torture.

Above all, the international public opinion should apply pressure on the Chon Du Hwan clique to announce the whereabouts of Kim Dae Jung and his entourages. At present it seems that there is no way for saving him at home. The US Administration appears to have shared the views of the Japanese government and the Chon Du Hwan-lining remnants that Kim Dae Jung is a Red and must be eliminated. The US army's wireless and TV broadcasts in Seoul keep mum about the Kwangju incident. And Wickham, Commander of the US Forces in south Korea, must have allowed Chon Du Hwan to use a host of troops in committing that outrage in the name of the commander of the US-south Korea allied forces. In connection with these facts a retired general well informed of the US forces and the American embassy whispered into my ear:

"It is safe to say that the United States is

apparently in the same line with Chon Du Hwan at the present time. It confirmed his brutal acts, later. Such American stance is what Chon Du Hwan hoped for. More stress is laid on so-called security and public peace than democracy. America looks about south Korea only from military necessity. It aligns itself with the view that Kim Dae Jung is a Red and instigated the people to the present riot. And it shows no concern for the safety of his life. What is surprising is the fact that it echoes Chon Du Hwan's words that the Kwangju affair was not caused by the military troops' outrages, but by the intervention of spies from the north and unreliable elements. It hopes that Choe Gyu Ha is installed in power. We believed that America would be prudent in its conduct. But, what a sad disillusionment!

"It inwardly hopes that Choe Gyu Ha is elected President within the framework of the Chon Du Hwan's system, while advocating democracy and free election to save its face. Is there no contradiction? It is a foolish judgement to think that free election is consistent with Choe Gyu Ha's election to the presidential post. Is it possible for the Chon Du Hwan's system to maintain the stability of south Korea? From now on, the democratic movement will move towards the anti-US movement, I fear."

The repressive system of the military cannot rule this country even if Kwangju is suppressed. The United States has really been reduced to a corrupt country. Japan continues with the same manoeuvrings and diplomacy as in the period of her aggression on the Asian continent in the past. The road the United States is now following is said to be much criticized in Europe, too. Another blunder it has made in south Korea may probably

be correctly grasped and examined in Europe.

The south Korean people will never give up the war against the Chon Du Hwan's mobs. The dead souls will never keep silent, but cry for democracy, predicting the fall of the remnants. It is our belief that the sober-minded people all over the world will join in this voice. I feel this report is incoherent as I made haste with it.

We hope that pressure will be applied to the Chon Du Hwan clique so that bloodshed will not occur again and the repressive troops don't fire at the people any longer. Won't highly experienced government diplomats be able to arbitrate the incident? More blood may be shed because of the Kwangju incident. No one knows what the repressive troops of Chon Du Hwan who labelled the citizens as mobs will do in future. Again many people may be tortured and killed in and out of prison. We wish an international fact-finding group to come here as early as possible.

We hope the sober-minded people of the world will demand the power authorities of the United States and Japan not to repeat such grave mistakes. In the future, too, the governments of these two countries will air their views quite contrary to the fact. We hope this will be denounced. That's not enough. A conscientious and fair fact-finding group should come here. Without such pressure and statement of the world it is impossible to save the lives of Kim Dae Jung and many other conscientious citizens. In fact, the life of Kim Dae Jung is No. 1 target of the mobs. The United States and Japan have enabled the Chon Du Hwan gang to play with Kim's life again. It aims to cover up the crimes of the Japanese power elites and the south Korean remnant forces.

We hope that they will pray for the day when the south Koreans' struggle will chase out these

remnants and they may share the joy of victorious democracy. What is to be done for Kwangju and Mokpo which were drenched with blood by the roughnecks and are now in isolation? I believe this is a question flung by history at us now.

O, KWANGJU!

Jun. 6, 1980

When the weather has begun to warm up
A blinding snowstorm again rages.
We call it death.

In the first stanza of his poem titled "January 1974" Kim Ji Ha who has been in prison for more than 5 years wrote: "January 1974 will be called death." May 1980 should also be called death.

In January 1974 the conscientious people were thrown into prison. But May 1980 was more cruel. There was slaughter on top of jailing. It was filled with the days of massacre.

Abundant testimonies as to the ten-day Kwangju genocide have been obtained. They are records of heart-rending wailing. Let me first introduce the record of the Catholic church that self-sacrificingly engaged in brave resistance, testimony and action when the struggle of the Kwangju citizens was at its height.

Testimony I (at 4:00 p.m. on May 22)
As necessities of life are exhausted in Kwangju,

there will before long take place a tragedy in which children die of hunger. The following reports were conveyed:

1. The soldiers who had committed an indiscriminate slaughter confessed that they had been starved for one day and one night and given liquor mixed with some medicine. The reason for the disarmament of a company of troops by the students was that they were quite alarmed at the tragic play they had performed when they sobered up. More than half of them were non-commissioned officers. As they felt hungry, the citizens gave them enough meals.

2. A soldier testified that the genocidal operation had been commanded by the helicopter hovering over the city.

3. Many angry old folks were gathering at a high-speed bus stop in Kwangju, when troops fired pepper-powder bombs to make them lose their senses.

4. High-speed bus drivers were shot to death by soldiers.

5. The reason which prompted the students to such a violent demonstration on the first day was that soldiers shot to death the chairman of the Students Association of Chonnam University and left his body as it was for a show at the square in front of the provincial government office, thus setting off a wave of fury on the part of the students. In face of the shocking scene, the president of Chonnam University fell into a swoon and was carried to a hospital, but he is said to have committed suicide.

Testimony II (at 11:45 p.m. on May 22)

A considerable number of citizens in Mokpo armed themselves. Taking farm implements into their own hands, crowds of people are flocking to

the city from Muan and Illo. We will defend freedom and democracy with death here. Tell the people you meet that we people of South Cholla Province are dying in the fighting. What you can do for us is to pray for us. Please pray for us. Ask all people to do it. Ask it of the Cardinal in particular.

Testimony III (May 23)

On May 21 two priests were missing in Kwangju and the fellow believers of the Pukdong Cathedral staged a demonstration. A corps of bishops in Chonju held a meeting, at which they decided to fight together with the Chonju citizens for peace in the country and the existence of the nation and die together with them. Eyewitnesses' accounts of the Kwangju affair compiled in Chonju confirm that what was reported as a groundless rumour by the city centre was an actual fact and it was a large-scale cruel genocide surpassing the imagination of the people.

Now is the time for all the people to rise up. If they do not rise now, it will be impossible to check the scorching of South Cholla Province and the slaughtering of its inhabitants. The entire people must know they are now rushing towards ruin. Silence and indifference at this moment will become the final sin against the nation. Pray for us. When you are informed of our death, offer up the last prayer of love for us.

These are testimonies given by leaders of the Catholic church. I do not give their names here because now is a time of darkness when telling the truth means bringing death. The Kwangju incident was indeed a tragic and urgent one. The resistance of the Catholic church has continued. We grant that the dispatch of the martial

law forces was "inevitable". However, cracking down on the uprising the troops mercilessly stabbed citizens and students to death with their bayonets before the eyes of the entire people of Kwangju. How could they do it? The martial law forces "taught the necessity of arms" to the citizens by their action. If this story, too horrible and miserable, is told, it is distorted as a false rumour. Is it possible to rule the people through such deception? When a large number of casualties occurred on the afternoon of May 20 the Martial Law Command made public that the dead included one civilian and four members of the martial law forces. This enraged the masses further. This is Chon Du Hwan's trick for seizing political power. Therefore, the Catholic church circulated secretly the diary, fact and report of the incident. Let me here quote part of an eyewitness's testimony from the report.

At 9:30 a.m., May 19 (Monday) I entered the Catholic centre and fully saw the scene of demonstration. Armoured vehicles lined up along the street from the provincial government building to Chonil Building (a high-storey building) and armed soldiers and riot police stood behind barricades laid in many folds. The paratroopers unconditionally knocked down the demonstrating students and even passers-by, if young, with rifle butts and mercilessly stabbed them in their heads, shoulders and necks with their bayonets. The victims fell on the street shedding blood. The paratroopers bound the bleeding youths with nylon rope and made them kneel down on the street. In front of the Kwangju Tourists' Hotel in Kumnam Street No.2 they tied the hands of students behind their backs after making them squat and forced them to put their faces to the ground. At times they pressed their backs with their rifles until their bellies

touched the ground. Weak university students collapsed on the street, foaming at the mouth, with their heads hit by rifle butts.

This evoked a towering indignation from the citizens of Kwangju, who began to stage a full-scale demonstration struggle in concert with the students, throwing stones at the armymen and riot police. At around half past ten on the morning of the 19th the demonstrators took the 2-kilometre long section from Kumnam Street No. 1 to Ryudong, shouting, "Rescind the martial law!" "Release Kim Dae Jung!" "Pay for the blood of citizens and students!" Among them were old men in their eighties and kindergarteners. Even children of kindergartens carried stones, saying: "If the troops come, we'll kill them." When a young man threw stones at soldiers from the roof of a building behind Chae Il Bank, they hurriedly went up to the roof top and arrested over ten young people there and then dragged them on, kicking at random. They beat and stabbed people, irrespective of age and sex. The heart of Kwangju was drenched with blood. I felt dizziness, strength leaving my limbs. At last I vomited before the Catholic centre.

The paratroopers dragged the hiding young men out of private houses. They captured any young people in the families of those houses, and beat and stabbed them. They tied a university student to the back part of a military truck and killed him in cold blood, dragging him along the street. Not only this. In the neighbourhood of Sangmu-dong I met a girl of the Central Girls' Higher School who wept while wiping blood oozing out from the wounded jaw. She stood absent-mindedly though I repeatedly asked her what had happened. It was ten minutes later that she calmed herself down and said: "The students of our school boycotted classes and turned out for a demonstration, but the armed

troops blocked the front gate. When we tried to go out of the gate after school they thrust us with bayonets. Near the school gate 20 girls were killed, shedding blood. The head teacher, too, was stabbed to death. Oh, what a terrible scene!"

All the citizens rose up like this. This report covering 7 pages declares that unless the government admits its crime and meets the desire of the people for democracy, the Kwangju citizens will never calm themselves down. Nevertheless, the devilish authority will shamelessly brand the report as a fabrication of a spy of the north. Now let me quote an article written by a special press corps of *Tonga Ilbo*, the article written on the spot on May 23, the fourth day of the Kwangju incident. But it failed to pass censorship of the martial law authorities. Because of this the issue of that day was five hours behind the scheduled time. Space is too limited to introduce the full text. But this moderate article will be enough to get a glimpse of the truth of the Kwangju affair.

Especially, on the morning of May 18 and 19 the martial law troops dispatched to the heart of the city committed brutal atrocities against demonstrators and passers-by. This stirred up citizens' hatred against the troopers. They resisted them with incendiarism and destruction. Thus the Kwangju city became a fear-gripped town. Paratroopers sent to Kumnam Street flourished their sticks and stabbed the demonstrating citizens in their shoulders and legs with their bayonets. Demonstrators fell shedding blood, while citizens screamed with fright. The street soon became a land of Avici and Raurava. The soldiers stripped young men of their clothes except for their panties and tied their hands behind their backs. They

kicked at the abdomens and the breasts of women looking like female students and tore their blouses with swords. Watching bloodshed from the rooftops of building citizens wailed and screamed. Divided into squads and platoons, the soldiers went round the city on foot, combing all the buildings and houses in the busy thoroughfares one by one in search of demonstrators, perpetrating outrages. They tripped up the escaping workers in their twenties and trampled them underfoot, and attacked the classrooms of the Mudung Prep School.

They even clubbed policemen carrying away those citizens who sank down on the ground, getting hurt in the heads. A lieutenant colonel of special army paratroops gave a warning to An Su Taek, the operation section chief of the South Cholla Provincial Police Headquarters, who was in charge of sending wounded citizens to hospital, that if the policemen had carried wounded citizens or sheltered escaping students, they would be punished as sympathizers with the rioters. In this showdown five soldiers were wounded, hit by stones and several hundred of citizens injured by army violence. But, no exact number was confirmed. A high-ranking policeman who witnessed the scene shouted tearfully to citizens in the Chungjangro District through a microphone: "Please immediately go home. If you are captured by paratroopers, you will be killed." Paratroopers searched about the narrow alleys, hunting for young men in their twenties. Once young citizens came under the notice of troops, there was no escape from them. At the sight of this scene citizens stamped with vexation, saying: "How can it be!"

On May 20, the indignation of the masses of people reached its zenith when they saw the dead bodies of demonstrators slain by repressive sol-

diers on the previous day. Now the demonstrators changed their slogans from political to furious ones such as: "Bring the killed back to life!" and "Let us die together!" At around 5:50 p.m., the demonstrating crowds thronged to the entrance of the Chungjangro District, formed scrummages, marched towards the provincial government office, and clashed with the police. They staged a sit-in demonstration in front of the Taedo Hotel, shouting the slogan "Let Chon Du Hwan resign!" Meanwhile, they sent their representatives to the cordon of police to deliver their message which asked police to take refuge as they were resolved to fight at the risk of their lives with the paratroopers who treated the Kwangju citizens as the enemy. Two girls looking like bus conductresses were seen weeping bitterly, embracing a young driver in his thirties whose head had been smashed. Policemen were carrying wounded people. A police wireless operator called on some one to send an ambulance in a tearful voice, saying that the lives of the wounded were critical. It was really a frightening sight!

Literally, it was a genocidal operation against Kwangju citizens. However, citizens did no harm to pro-government elements and officials. Their action was nothing but a self-defensive protest against violence. It was too peaceful compared with the savage acts of the powerful. Even now many citizens and students are undergoing hardships. But the commanders of the genocidal operations are praised for having rescued the country from the crisis as Chon's lifeguards. The commander of the special army paratroops who committed savage acts has become a member of the standing committee of the Special National Security Committee, the hard core of the ruling military. Thus has begun

the rule by the group of violence. They are conducting a big propaganda at home and abroad, describing this tragic fact as a groundless rumour. By so doing, they seem to think they can hold on to power.

Though I have to omit many sad stories I must say about the situation in Kwangju when the troops were hurled into it again on the early morning of May 27. The martial law forces boasted of the successful operation, saying that "they could reduce the loss of lives to the minimum by working out a scrupulous plan through the detection of the movement of armed people before dispatching troops," and announced that 17 citizens and 2 soldiers were dead and 295 citizens were now under "protection". This is, however, a far cry from the fact.

The martial law forces made public that the attack on Kwangju city was started at 5 o'clock in the morning. But in fact it began at 3 o'clock and rifle shooting continued till 7 and even till half past 8 in some places. The troops fired not only from the ground but also from helicopters. As they approached under cover of darkness and fired highly-efficient gas-bombs, the armed citizens could not move their bodies freely. Thus, more than 600 citizens died. It is said that the figures—600 persons killed and 3,000 wounded—were clearly written on the bulletin board of the KCIA office. Rifle shooting took place chiefly at the provincial government office, Kwangju Tourists' Hotel, Chonil Building and Kwangju city park. Among the policemen there was a man who appealed in tears to the armed citizens to take refuge, promising that shelter would be provided for them. Thus the armed gang of mobs began to rule Kwangju again. A certain pastor who, carrying a passport issued by the martial law forces, visited Kwangju in the capacity of a church delegate, passing through 15 check-

points, said absent-mindedly:

"What can I do for you?" I asked, to which the answer was very cool: "When the Kwangju citizens were dying, what help did you give us? You want to help us now? We still have blood enough to save our injured citizens. We have also food, though scanty. We deal it out in equal portions. We don't need relief goods." I will never forget their grave looks and their eyes filled with hatred. Kwangju citizens were divided into five groups to investigate facts in secret. The investigation results put the death toll at 2,000. From this we can guess that the injured and imprisoned will be countless. Many people are reported to have been killed in action, but still their bodies are not handed over to their families. My fellow pastor lost his son, a theological student. His body is still reported as missing. The existence of bloodthirsty troops itself is the question. As long as there exist 600,000 soldiers in this small land as south Korea, neither democracy nor peace can be achieved. It is the beginning of terrible era.

KIM DAE JUNG'S LIFE AT STAKE

Jun. 6, 1980

Chon Du Hwan and his cahoots probably attempted to exterminate the Kwangju people as a terrible shock to all other people so that they could not rise again.

No doubt, everything was prepared beforehand. Why did they choose Kwangju? It was a pit dug for Kim Dae Jung. And they tried to isolate Kwangju for the reason that the Cholla provincial people excited hostility to the Kyongsang provincial people. They also declared that Reds were active in Kwangju. This was also aimed to attach a label of Red to Kim Dae Jung.

It is said that Chon Du Hwan ordered his troops to use in Kwangju dum dum bullets prohibited by international law. In an attempt to cover up proofs of guilt, they secretly disposed of even the wounded. They say many corpses were carried away somewhere and burnt to ashes.

Many bereaved families received only notification of death without corpses.

Some bodies were found scorched by flame thrower.

When Pak Jung Hi was alive, it is said, the wicked guys manufactured dum dum bullets. They were in agreement on the point that they would not hesitate to kill 200,000 people in retaining their power.

Handbills which called on the South Cholla people to gather in front of the provincial government office on May 21 for a struggle to defend democracy branded Chon Du Hwan as a "cursed man-killer" and appealed like this:

"Dear people of the province! Do you know the Kwangju citizens' hearts bleeding for agony and wrath? Thirty million fellow countrymen who love the country! Do you hear their blood-stained cries? The democratic-minded soldiers! Whom will you kill—bloodsucker and human butcher Chon Du Hwan and other Yusin remnants or innocent patriotic citizens calling for democracy?..."

Why does Chon Du Hwan venture to enforce such a cursed rule?

No one could imagine that there was a man who had dreamed of such a rule even after Pak Jung Hi's death.

It should be frankly admitted that this was the very fault and naiveness of the democratic forces and people.

"The Chon Du Hwan clique resorted to all possible methods. They always counted on American support.

Before anything else they utilized to the maximum the theory of the threat from the north.

At his press interview at Silla Hotel on the afternoon of May 22, Chon Du Hwan bluntly said: Two hours are enough to put down the revolt in Kwangju. The revolt is dictated by the pro-north Revolutionary Party for Reunification. Four groups of Kim Dae Jung's terrorist bodies joined in the demonstration. A captured spy from the north revealed that he was instructed to direct the Kwangju incident. Another spy with poisoned needle was captured in Kwangju.

Needless to say, all these are inventions of Chon Du Hwan and his group.

It is considered that most active demonstrators were Chon Du Hwan's agents. Their faces were covered with towel while in public.

The masses of people could not see through such tactics at all."

In a speech made on May 22 in the capacity of the acting KCIA Chief, Chon Du Hwan touched on the so-called political development. He stated that the political program for democracy would be carried out without fail as promised by the Choe Gyu Ha administration as soon as social unrest was removed, and that papers would be granted the freedom of reporting, but they should be subjected to censorship, though formal.

Then he declared threateningly that the military would never retreat once it determined. He also prattled that he would return to the army when the society became stable after sweeping away the corrupted elements in power.

Having heard of his statements directly or indirectly, quite a few people believed in them and felt relieved.

Despite the tragedy of Kwangju, the pressmen gave a sigh of relief at his promise, like a drowning man catching at a straw.

Some of my friends often lamented that the military would hurl the country into the dark abyss and scorch the whole land literally.

I said to them each time: How can they rule the country with thousands of people kept behind the iron bars? How can they dispose of Kim Dae Jung if the people support him?

I also did not agree with those who said that if Kim Dae Jung came to power the Chon Du Hwan clique would stage a coup. I thought what the pessimists said was lacking in common sense. But such was the common sense of the military of this country and the Yusin remnants.

The same is true of the case of Kim Dae Jung. He met some men sent by Chon Du Hwan. They told him that the military no longer took him for a Red and everything was settled. The US embassy also sent a man to him who spoke highly of his popularity among the people and even showed concern for his future activity.

All this was intended to let Chon Du Hwan and his ilk obtain time.

These guys are now attempting to apply the same tactics again. They say: The programme for democratization remains unchanged. Everything will be OK if only students remain quiet, and then we will go back to barracks.

They also send men secretly to churchmen to persuade that they acknowledge the fault of the military in the Kwangju incident although they cannot admit it openly lest it should cause a split in the military. On the other hand, those messengers prattle: The whole army is not still under Chon Du Hwan's thumb. There will be another scramble for leadership within it, so wait a little more. The outside tumult will only boost the morale of tough elements. If you wait with patience, the military will settle all problems.

There are some who, taken in by these words, are waiting patiently with such self-consolation that they still have their hands in the democratization movement. It is a question that we still have people taking such credulous or sluggish attitude.

The democratic forces should reflect upon all they have done so far and, on this basis, get rid of the present trouble, taking a sane look at reality.

What the Chon Du Hwan junta had done from the midnight of May 17 was all intended to remove Kim Dae Jung.

"A vice begets vices. Chon Du Hwan purged 40

high-ranking officers through the December 12 incident last year.

There is no other way for Chon Du Hwan but to increase vices. In future, too, he will race along that path, getting more ferocious. This will aggravate the situation of the country to the extreme.

On May 22, when the Kwangju massacre was at its height, the Martial Law Command hastily published the so-called intermediary results of investigation into Kim Dae Jung.

They boil down to the three points: Kim Dae Jung's political activity was to agitate the students and people; his political view is based on communist idea; he formed a political organization with people who had contact with the north from October 1972 to August 1973 when he was kidnapped in Tokyo.

But none of these charges provides any ground for incriminating him as long as he is not handled as a political offender.

Why does his political activity become an agitation? They say his political lecture stirred up people. Then, does it not mean his assertion is right?

Why does his contact with students become a crime? They assert that he gave money amounting to 1.8 million *won* to chairman of students' council in Seoul University. Why does it pose a big problem? More, many students wonder if it is true. Kim Dae Jung rather dissuaded students from demonstration on many occasions, didn't he? They charge him for having been a Leftist when young. What does it matter to him? It was in his youth of about 20. Pak Jung Hi was given even a death rap for his participation in the Ryosu-Sunchon mutiny in 1949, wasn't he?

Kim Dae Jung was also charged for having formed an organization with the alleged Leftists

in his ten months' exile. Let's grant that it was so, but was it possible to screen and banish such Leftists in a free society not under the control of the KCIA? Some associates of Pak Jung Hi have also been regarded as Reds, haven't they?

The organization with which Kim Dae Jung was affiliated kept many people who were alien to Reds even in the eyes of the Chon Du Hwan clique, didn't it? And that organization steadfastly strove for democratization of south Korea under the guidance of Kim Dae Jung, didn't it?

Pak Jung Hi had never taken issue on such points against Kim Dae Jung, even while persecuting him so doggedly, had he?

Granting that Kim Dae Jung's opinion made public abroad has something common with that of the north, it is not worth a surprise as long as he spoke as the Chon Du Hwan clique describe. His opinion is fair and essential for a peaceful dialogue between the north and the south.

Knowing that their intermediary results of investigation was lacking in persuasive power, they added that the arrest of Kim Jong Pil and Kim Dae Jung was not formal but made on the charge of violating the martial law command decree. What an odd thing!

It is a political gamble of military men who are devoid of prudence and blinded with the lust for power."

But the Chon Du Hwan junta makes nothing of man-killing. So no one can foresee what will happen to Kim Dae Jung.

"Three rumours are afoot. It is said that the Army Security Command was at a loss what to do with Kim Dae Jung at the very beginning of his arrest because he was regarded as a future President. Then came the order subjecting him to severe

torture. So a rumour goes round that he was already killed.

It is also said that his neck was hurt so that he could not speak.

Another rumour says that Kim Dae Jung was brought to a meeting of leading pressmen, raised his right hand to take an oath and then declared that he was a communist.

All these are unthinkable, but possible in the light of the cruelty displayed in the Kwangju incident.

Anyway, it is true that he is getting a raw deal."

Chon Du Hwan attempts to kill Kim Dae Jung like Kim Jae Gyu, make his death an accomplished fact and get the internal and external recognition of his rule.

It is horrible indeed. Kim Dae Jung should not be killed. He is the only hope of the south Korean people at present.

He can bring security, order and peace instead of confusion and antagonism while giving hopes to the people and carrying out new reforms.

He is the very person who can propose the reunification of the north and the south as our national ideal and defend democracy and social justice in south Korea with a realistic approach to politics.

He is the only man who deserves the trust and respect of the people. He has endured all bitter trials of life. Shall he be done away with by violence after all? It means pushing us into pitch darkness.

"Now I feel as if I were in the days of the March 1 Independence Movement in 1919. The people are suppressed at the point of the bayonet and dragged out in a line bound up with rope as those students in Kwangju.

The Choe Gyu Ha regime is like the Li Wan Yong Cabinet under colonial rule at the time of annexation in 1910. Both of them are groups of traitors to the nation. We can expect nothing of them.

After the March 1 Independence Movement there appeared an organization representing the people's voice and linking the fellow countrymen at home and abroad. Now I think such an organization should appear in a foreign country. Then a storm of revenge will rage again at home"

If things come to a pass where Kim Dae Jung loses his life, such action of vengeance will be inevitable.

SOUTH KOREA UNDER US CONTROL

Jun. 18, 1980

Chon Du Hwan informed Wickham, Commander of the US Forces in south Korea and Gleysteen, the US ambassador to south Korea, of everything beforehand. He himself said so in public.

In this connection, Wickham said he had reluctantly agreed with him in principle, while Gleysteen, though denying the fact, described the Kwangju incident as process of democratization.

It is said, therefore, that Wickham's leaving for the United States on May 13 on a fortnight trip at that important juncture was aimed at giving free rein to Chon Du Hwan's action.

Back to Seoul on May 18, Wickham allowed Chon Du Hwan to use the ROK army under his command at will to cope with the situation in Kwangju. This causes an increasing suspicion against the United States. A certain friend said to me:

"The south Korean government demands a loan of 630 million dollars from the Export and Import Bank of the United States. The American businessmen bring pressure to bear on their government to comply with it.

They have nothing to do with a genocide of people in south Korea. They count only on money-making. So the president of the Export and Import Bank of the United States said that though democracy was desirable in south Korea, the United States could hardly say what government should be established.

The press of the United States asserts that no support should be given to the military dictatorship of south Korea through economic cooperation. Pointing out that south Korea has its own entrepreneurs and specialists capable of developing the economy along with the capacity for setting up a democratic system, it warns the US government not to cause an anti-American sentiment among the south Korean democrats.

However, the Carter Administration will yield to the pressure of the capitalists. The capitalists always fear the possible loss of their markets and claim for backing the dictatorial regime.

What is worse, politics is weak before the economy in the time of depression.

Such America will become rather worse after the coming election.

The US embassy to south Korea tells the Americans that the Kwangju incident is a civil war between Kyongsang and Cholla Provinces and that

stress should be put on order and security.”

When the Kwangju incident broke out, American soldiers, along with ROK troops, were at all check-points from Seoul to Kwangju. A rumour has it that the CIA of the United States was involved in the operation of the martial law forces that charged into Kwangju at the dawn of May 27.

“The Pentagon in Washington is said to share Chon Du Hwan’s view that the Kwangju incident occurred due to communist spies. Chon Du Hwan had got acquainted with Wickham while studying in the United States.

It must be observed that Wickham, like Chon Du Hwan, regarded Kim Dae Jung as a dangerous figure and agreed on the removal of him.

The US military, the CIA and the US embassy to south Korea have suddenly begun to extol Chon Du Hwan of late. How is this connected with Carter’s warning against Chon Du Hwan’s authority becoming strong?

Was his warning a deceitful policy against the democratic forces of south Korea?

The United States, implicated in the conspiracy of the south Korean military, goes this way and that, criticizing or supporting it.

Taking advantage of it, some of the army circles are plotting to seize power. They think that if only they establish a fact, the United States will admit it.

The United States recognizes any government, if it does not conflict with its own interests. It only cares how to make south Korea confront the north and remain in its system of security and market in the interests of itself and Japan.”

If the seizure of power by the Chon Du Hwan group gives rise to an all-people resistance, the United States will align with them to put it down.

The tactics it followed in Iran are not changed at all.

As a result, innocent people are dying for democracy and the nation. The function of the state is paralysed and the international image of south Korea disgraced.

The US forces have an infantile fear of Kim Dae Jung by supporting the argument of the Chon Du Hwan clique. That is why they overlook the brutal scheme of the Chon Du Hwan clique to eliminate Kim Dae Jung.

The United States made Kim Jae Gyu kill Pak Jung Hi, but did not even save his life.

"There is a dark design for something like a palace coup. American corruption is behind it. Such a palace coup will continue to happen in the future, too. A bottomless mire.

The United States needs the loyalty of the ROK army to it and fears lest the south Korean people should hew out their destiny by themselves.

Chon Du Hwan also needs the support of the US forces for his rule.

Thus, the US forces as a colonial detachment are implicated politically in colonial rule.

This is the very image the US forces have so far assumed, and in the future it will become more glaring as the ROK army behaves as it pleases.

Accordingly, they go the length of acting against the will of their government like the former Kwantung Army of Japan, dragging it into their own plot. In the United States, too, the military has become too plump, so the Pentagon has the civil government at its beck and call. Sufferings grow everywhere with the growth of devilish armed forces."

This view is correct as far as the current south Korean question is concerned. South Korean intellectuals will hold it more seriously.

The US State Department will continue to express concern over the situation of south Korea in words only in order to cover up that dark design and maintain its dignity.

To take advantage of it, the dictatorial regime goes to the excess of riot deliberately and then, pretending to accept the warning of the United States, releases one political prisoner or two. Then, the US State Department gives it a nod.

This is what is called Carter's human rights diplomacy.

"On May 28 Japan sent a special envoy to meet Chon Du Hwan. He must have expressed thanks to Chon for the removal of Kim Dae Jung. It was the first diplomatic action of recognizing Chon Du Hwan.

As Japan has hitherto shown a friendly feeling towards Kim Jong Pil she must change horses as quickly as possible.

The financial circles of Japan, too, will move briskly, for they must defend their weak market. Hence, they, in collusion with the Japanese government and American capitalists, exert their influence on the US government, the Pentagon in particular.

This is not what has begun now. This is a sad undercurrent of our modern history.

How will south Korea cope with the worldwide conservative stream and the external self-defensive pressure of the rich in the future?

In fact, this time the north stated time and again that excessive vigilance was useless.

It might be exceptional. This notwithstanding, the United States showed an excessive military response.

It was not a warning against the north, but a political plot to crack down on the resistance of the south Korean people and support the military dictatorship."

On May 24 the National Federation for Democracy and National Unity (NFDNU) made public a situational declaration in the name of two chairmen Yun Bo Son and Ham Sok Hon, and Mrs. Li Hui Ho as a proxy of Kim Dae Jung. It demanded the resignation of Chon Du Hwan from all his public posts and called for the release of Kim Dae Jung and other democrats and the restoration of democracy.

It reads in part: "The NFDNU is deeply concerned over the fact that the United States, a traditional friendly nation, loses the credibility of our people. Why does it help Chon Du Hwan to kill the innocent people? Why does it try to repeat in south Korea the policy which ended in a dismal failure in Iran?"

During this while, conscientious south Korean intellectuals shared their pains with some conscientious Americans in south Korea.

They were of the same opinion that Wickham and Gleysteen must be called back to Washington to be censured for what they have done and that the United States must bear the responsibility for having assisted in the genocidal operation against the Kwangju citizens on the plea of maintenance of order.

Friends of the world, please share this view.

When they greeted the liberation in 1945, the south Koreans said, "Don't believe in the United States! Japan will revive! Korea, wake up!"

This was based on their past feeling and simple nationalism.

Having gone through the bloody incident in Kwangju we must probably return to this mentality our people had when the country was liberated 35 years ago.

FROM DEATH TO DEATH

Jun. 22, 1980

Another funeral for a young man took place yesterday. On June 9, a worker named Kim Jong Tae attempted to burn himself to death in front of Yonsei University. He was immediately carried to its hospital but, at length, he died on the 14th. Permission for his funeral service came yesterday.

The eldest of the three brothers, he finished an evening middle school after completing the primary course and became a worker. His hospital room where he was lying unconscious was under the watch of a soldier. Even his family were not allowed to have access to his room.

The funeral was attended by over 150 people including former President Yun Bo Son and Ham Sok Hon.

He left behind him a statement condemning the military junta of Chon Du Hwan and a note entitled "In homage to the dead souls of citizens and students of Kwangju."

"What are life and death meant for? Taking three meals a day is meant living? When tens of hundreds of people including young students and old men are being killed mercilessly at the hands of their own soldiers, how can I be content with that my family and I alone are safe?..."

Seeing the Chon Du Hwan clique's doings, he

wrote, I have come to know how fearful the effect of "self-interest" is. Then he concluded his note with these words:

"If my act of burning myself to death gives encouragement to our people, even if to a few, I am willing to give my life.

I want to console the consecrated souls of Kwangju citizens and students by burning this small body....Unable to find the way of alleviating my resentment, I give up my life."

His death was the second suicide that happened after the Chon Du Hwan clique's coup d'etat of May 17 and the Kwangju incident.

On May 30, Kim Ui Gi, a fourth-year student of Sogang University in Seoul, committed suicide. He threw himself from the 5th floor of a church building down between the two tanks surrounding it.

In his "letter to fellow countrymen," he described the fight against the Yusin remnants as a "sacred battle", and urged the fellow countrymen to rise up to the last man.

In that appeal he gave no reference to his attempt at suicide. Many believe that when he threw that appeal from the verandah of the church building, a soldier who had been watching his movement pushed him down from behind. They say his family, too, believe so.

The horrible atmosphere of death now prevails over the whole territory of this country.

The atmosphere of terror in Seoul grows thicker, far from diminishing.

The whole city is swarming with soldiers. They examine things in the hands of students and citizens in the streets. Soldiers are posted outside the important buildings. The fully-armed soldiers are seen standing around the stairways inside the buildings.

Reports on what has happened in Kwangju and Mokpo keep coming still now. A young student is

said to have been stabbed by a large sword and displayed to view. Eyewitness accounts have reached Seoul: A pregnant woman was killed; a woman was stripped naked and dragged off to the street; a woman's breasts were cut off and so on and so forth.

There is no end to such terrible stories. Many priests and clergymen are now in hiding in Mokpo and Kwangju.

Here is a letter addressed to President Choe Gyu Ha by Bishop Yun Gong Hui in the Kwangju parish on May 26. It reads:

"The martial law forces committed so many ferocious outrages before the eyes of the citizens, in their bid to check the peaceful demonstration of Kwangju citizens. Have you ever thought about how the citizens went angry as they saw their sons and daughters beaten by the soldiers' clubs, trampled down by their boots, forsaken in the streets, blood gushing from their mouths, and their bodies on the verge of death carried in trucks?

Nevertheless, the responsible authorities put it aside as a groundless rumour and do not find the origin of the incident in it. This cannot be interpreted otherwise than their deliberate attempt to cover up the facts and the attempt of the government and the military to shirk their responsibility.

If they want to cope with the situation in Kwangju, the government and the military should recognize the real cause of the incident anyway, even though it is belated, and should apologize frankly. They can save the crucial situation only when they promise to punish severely the mastermind of the troops' atrocities."

On June 22 Bishop Yun sent another letter plus the former to Choe Gyu Ha. It was intended to make another call for a fair and magnanimous handling. Because the government, instead of keeping its

words, arrests and jails many students and citizens, even walking off to a police station the chairman who made every effort to overcome the situation.

But it is clear that the Chon Du Hwan junta has no conscience to turn ears to this call.

The Chon clique spread groundless rumours at home and abroad. Do they think they can cover up their savageness with them?

On June 1, Sunday, almost all the churches of the country were drenched with tears. The people are one in mind.

They are hotly indignant at the United States that supported Chon Du Hwan.

The leaflets printed underground are being passed from person to person. The leaflet captioned "Voice of the National Democratic Youth and Students" reads:

"The United States, restore things to the status quo! We attach importance to the fact that the United States agreed to Chon Du Hwan's operation of slaughtering the nation and that the nerve-gas bombs were used.

We warn with burning hatred and indignation. So long as the present policy continues, there will be no guarantee for the Americans' lives and properties in this land."

Such sentiments of south Koreans will doubtlessly mount still higher. The underground leaflet gives warnings to the army and police, Choe Gyu Ha and Chon Du Hwan alike:

"Chon Du Hwan, you devilish murderer imbued with savageness and shamelessness, listen! This country is going to ruin and our brothers are meeting miserable death because of the bayonets and gunshots used in your power scramble, but the nation is not so degenerated as to overlook their death. That is what this country hopes. Wait for your death."

It seems that Chon Du Hwan is answering this warning with his increasing brutality.

The Chon Du Hwan clique are desperate to smother rumours in order to conceal the facts.

There came even the instructions that if a driver would inform against rumour-circulators he would immediately be cited as a model driver and given a loan almost free of interest and licensed to run his own taxi. It seems that they know rumours usually come from taxis.

They are also intent on searching those who went underground. Now an unprecedented farce is on. They inform people of their height, weight and the manner of walking by television and force them to inform on the suspected.

They also let all the school authorities send letters to the parents of students to explain the aim of the Special National Security Committee.

In these letters are the blanks in which the students and parents have to seal before sending them back to school authorities.

Many of the arrested are interrogated at police stations. They are handled by the torture-expert group consisting of young well-trained soldiers. Those who are tortured by them, lie unconscious one week or so.

A cordon thrown out for those underground is being drawn tight.

The Chon Du Hwan clique are arresting and harassing the families of those underground, especially their mothers. A student who heard it is said to have surrendered himself.

Chon Du Hwan is resorting to every means to maintain his cruel power like this.

When will they know that power is not omnipotent? They may not know it until their doom.

Lastly I want to speak about what we've heard of Kim Dae Jung today. Of course, it is an unconfirmed

speculation.

Kim Dae Jung is said to have been transferred to a hospital of army gaol, got heavy injury in the abdomen and to be in mental deliration.

They say he often exclaims spasmodically, "I'm a communist".

His wife, too, lives in an encirclement of soldiers.

How long will the Chon Du Hwan clique allow Kim Dae Jung to live? Isn't there any way to save him from this hopeless state?

PREMEDITATED GENOCIDAL OPERATION

Jul. 18, 1980

We must not forget the Kwangju incident. Chon Du Hwan and his cohorts are trying their hardest to efface it from the memory of the people and the world public. They are sardonic terrorists to the quick. They think the people are apt to forget whatever miserable incident. They think life itself is a process of oblivion and so the people in this bustling world will not remember the Kwangju incident so long, but go with the changing reality in the end.

They have taken over the foul tradition of the Pak regime as it is. It has been the way of the Pak regime to put the old event into oblivion by fabricating a new one. A more miserable and shocking event would obliterate the old one.

On May 24 when the Kwangju incident was at

its height, Kim Jae Gyu, together with his four men, was executed in retribution for his assassination of Pak Jung Hi. But this event failed to draw the public attention in the midst of the Kwangju incident. At the same time, the military hordes published the so-called "intermediate report on the investigation of Kim Dae Jung", which says that Kim Dae Jung is a communist and hatched a plot for rebellion and the overthrow of the government.

They hope that the Kwangju incident, too, will be lost in oblivion. The loud announcement of the purge of public officials is also intended for this. Maybe they believe that the people will forget the Kwangju massacre if they courtmartial Kim Dae Jung, placing his life in danger.

However, how can the people forget that massacre so easily? If they implicate Kim Dae Jung even in the Kwangju incident, it will arouse greater popular indignation. Subsequently, the Chon Du Hwan clique will continue to suffer headache. Of late Kwangju looks like the centre of the anti-communist movement. This, too, is nothing but a gesture to cover up the tragedy of Kwangju. Anti-communist rallies held in different places on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the June 25 event were sluggish, but a special concern was paid to the rally in Kwangju. The newspapers convey the following points stressed in that rally:

"...Let us wisely overcome the present difficulty through the establishment of national security and national harmony."

"Clearly aware that the split of the public opinion is the second enemy equal to communism, we firmly swear to get over all these ordeals and prevent the recurrence of the Kwangju tragedy."

This means that the people must strictly obey the

murderer's orders and never think of democracy or the numerous victims who shed their precious blood.

Another similar meeting took place in Kwangju on July 16. It was a "joint rally of professors for national security and anti-communism in South Cholla district."

More than 1,000 professors were taken there from different parts to call upon the people to march ahead in unity against communism and build a rich and powerful state. But this forcible rally only added fuel to the wrath of the Kwangju citizens. So its attendants did not say a word to anyone but friends of Kwangju with whom they could share their tears.

Immediately after the Kwangju incident the government launched a "campaign for relieving the Kwangju citizens" It was designed to cover up their brutal atrocities in Kwangju. According to the government, as much as 3,100 million *won* bearing compatriotism has been donated through this campaign. And the government is reportedly satisfied with its agreement with the influential persons of Kwangju on building a "children's hall" and an "old men's pavilion" in the city with that money. The Kwangju citizens feel unconquerable disgust at the government that considers it possible to cover the cost of so much blood with money. A friend of mine who visited Kwangju said:

"People are indignant at such a foolish trick. Can money appease their sorrowful and revengeful mind? What is called influential persons by the government is a handful of betrayers. It is said that the Lion's Club in Seoul was the first to donate two million *won*, but was driven back. During the resistant struggle the Kwangju citizens shared things among themselves. Shops sold goods through the back door and even on credit. At first they reduced the amount of meals in fear of shortage of food, but

afterwards they had no need to worry about it. They shared food with one another. The donated blood was left enough to spare. They put truth before money and food. They were united as one man. What nonsense it is to donate condolence money now after slaughtering Kwangju people, calling them rioters! They won't be taken in by such a trick of reversing black and white. They shut up their mouths now. Kwangju is a city of silence. Even in case they say, they mutter only a few words under their breath: 'Deal with them leniently,' 'Report the fact as truthfully as possible'. What intolerable grudge-bearing words! The fact is completely distorted and people are still under horrible suppression. Yet, condolence money is being collected. A sheer nonsense!"

How can their mental wounds be healed? How can they take condolence money while failing to see democracy and to hold freely even the funerals of the innumerable dead? The Kwangju citizens are now in tears of anger. During the resistant struggle the Chon Du Hwan clique prattled that the incident broke out at the instigation of a spy from the north. And they warned that the coast should be strictly guarded as the armed citizens would try to run away to the north. Now, however, they find it difficult to prove the truth of their assertion and instead are trying to shift every responsibility on Kim Dae Jung. The Kwangju people naturally condemn such mean conduct.

Such being the situation, Kwangju is under surveillance like in the days of colonial rule. The streets are swarming with secret agents, not natives. One can hardly know who was killed or who was arrested. There may be a case in which a person considered dead comes back from prison. Students say that they would grasp the real state of affairs when the door of school is reopened. However, the universities are said not to be opened soon. It is only recently that

middle schools and colleges such as a pedagogical institute of a two-year course and a nurses' college have opened their gates. On this my friend explained:

“At a certain middle school it was found out after its reopening that five students had been killed. So the fellow students laid bunches of flowers on the desks of the dead and wept. Later, strict orders were given not to lay bouquets on the desks of the dead students or collect condolence money at schools. At the colleges opened recently, teachers ought to call the roll every hour and report it to the authorities. The schools are said to report the names of the absentees and their parents to the authorities twice a day. It is feared that the students may boycott classes or hatch a plot while playing truant.”

What is more serious is that there is a convincing proof that the Kwangju incident was premeditated by the Chon Du Hwan clique long before. It is particularly said that the remnants of the military plotted it to eliminate Kim Dae Jung. The special army paratroops had long been educated in “patriotism and anti-communism”, saying that they should kill 80,000 people at least to save this country. Thus they were made cat's-paws of the wicked generals. My friend said that an American diplomat has secretly told him about this fact. It is said that the Chon Du Hwan clique started training the paratroopers with the Cholla provincial area in view from immediately after the death of Pak Jung Hi, that is, from about 7 months ago. They considered it indispensable for arresting Kim Dae Jung. The paratroopers unhesitatingly committed the cruel atrocities from the start, which could not be thought otherwise than insanity caused by the effect of some medicine they had eaten.

In regard to the Kwangju incident a retired general told me the following fact:

The major forces they mobilized in the Kwangju incident comprised the special paratroops some 2,500 strong and the 20th Infantry Division some 15,000 strong. It is a fact that the 20th Division was under Wickham, Commander of the US Forces in south Korea. At the time when the Kwangju incident broke out this division was at drill as a reserve division at Yangpyong in the vicinity of Seoul. When the special paratroops alone were not strong enough to quell the Kwangju citizens, Wickham approved the mobilization of this division. And some forces of the educational unit in the neighbourhood of Kwangju might also have been drawn into this operation.

In case martial law is proclaimed, the army commander of the given district is supposed to be its martial law commander. Therefore, all the army troops in Kwangju district should have been commanded by Lieut. Gen. Yun Hung Jong, commander of the educational base of combat branches and concurrently commander-in-chief of the army branch schools—the army infantry school, artillery school, panzer school and non-commissioned officers' school. But this commanding system was utterly ignored. Under the command of Chon Du Hwan the special paratroops staged the blackest tragedy and occupied Kwangju as if charging into an enemy's position. Lieut. Gen. Yun Hung Jong was purged of his post and now is in easy office as Minister of Communications. The retired general, my elder, found the reason for Yun's purge in the fact that he was considered to be no equal to outrageous suppression in Kwangju as he was an intelligent armyman who had once served as a military attache at a south Korean embassy in Europe.

That day the same retired general informed me of many things about the army. Under the special paratroops headquarters there are 8 brigades which have

20,000 officers and men in all. In the days of Pak Jung Hi they had stayed in the vicinity of Seoul under the command of Presidential Security Chief Cha Ji Chol who died with Pak. Originally, the special paratroops had consisted of 3-4-member squads whose mission was to carry out special tasks behind the enemy lines. Under the Pak regime they became a guard division and this time played the role of massacring compatriots in Kwangju.

He also said about the division attached to the Capital Garrison Command which, like the special paratroops, is not under the control of the commander of the US Forces in south Korea. It is a little bigger than an ordinary division and has a 15,000 strong force. It comprises 6 M.P. battalions, 2 anti-aircraft battalions and an army investigation corps. And this division and the 1st and 9th Divisions, regular combat units, form the capital army corps. These forces may be said to be under the control of Chon Du Hwan.

The 3rd Army Corps in charge of defending the north of Seoul was also under Chon's influence. Its commander was Lieut. Gen. Yu Hak Song who was newly appointed as the KCIA Chief on July 14. Though Chon Du Hwan retired from the post of the KCIA Chief on June 2, he virtually held it till Yu's appointment. At the time of the December 12 coup last year Lieut. Gen. Yu who was then the director of the munitions bureau of the army headquarters was arrested by Chon Du Hwan, but after three days of detainment he was released and appointed as commander of the 3rd Corps in return for his pledge of allegiance to Chon.

Next, the retired general spoke about Bradley, political adviser to Commander Wickham of the US Forces. He is an experienced person. All the brass hats of the south Korean army are, without exception, under his thumb. Therefore, the south Korean army will probably sink deeper into a state of disorder, he

lamented. His last words are still ringing in my ears:

“We may be said to be armymen brought up in haste because of the situation prevailing after liberation and of the Korean war. So we laid much hope on the young officers who had received education at the regular military academy modelling after the West Point and then inspected Europe and the United States or completed the training courses there. Now, however, the acts of Chon Du Hwan and his ilk have thrown us into a gloomy mood. They are hoodlums quite alien from proud armymen. Originally the special paratroops had boasted of their superiority. But since the Kwangju incident, all of them look like human butchers. They displayed their superior ability against the unarmed, peaceful inhabitants of their country. Moreover, they are going against the stream of history like the *Byakkotai* (White Tigers) of Japan. And we cannot even find in them any beautiful principle followed by the White Tigers to the last moment of their death. Are they a modern army? They are a pack of murderers.”

It may be my fancy, but the eyes of this old general were moistened with tears. If the south Korean army is to serve the nation with a good conscience, it must not forget this Kwangju incident of May 1980. I have a rush of testimonies on the Kwangju incident. According to a report, there are young men who are still in mountains after fleeing with arms or in the hiding in Seoul. It is said that they are declaring with their fists clenched that they have no alternative but to resort to terrorism in future since they have failed in Kwangju and that an American may fall its first victim. The US embassy may be the target of their attack.

Meanwhile, it is said that in Kwangju doctors tremble with fear lest the special paratroopers should

raid hospitals to kill the wounded and even themselves and nurses. Tear-gas bombs were thrown into hospitals, turning them into a sheer hell. The doctors and nurses put down the shutters for fear of being raided by the paratroopers. This again caused confusion because the wounded people could not be brought in. Unhappy stories about Kwangju are too numerous to tell. These testimonies are only a tiny part of what people saw with their naked eyes. When shall we be able to give full accounts of this blood-stained tragedy of the nation? Now let me introduce part of a testimony (the following chapter) as to the internal affairs of the young people who participated in the resistant struggle, about which a friend of mine told me today. Concluding his words, he said:

“It is said that students were dragged out even from the houses of European and American missionaries. These missionaries are now being shadowed by KCIA agents. In a certain family a younger brother, a high schoolboy, was arrested in place of his elder brother, a university student, who was in the hiding. Now the survivors are living in shame. Because they feel guilty that they have defended only their own sons while leaving others exposed to death. In this sense, too, the Kwangju citizens seem to be hesitating to open their mouths. The question of Kwangju is by no means settled. When a rancor grows, it will burst in time. We cannot tell what they will do, taking over the will of the deceased. Will justice and democracy in south Korea come into reality through Kwangju after all?”

DON'T FORGET KWANGJU

Jul. 18, 1980

I (a witness) would like to tell you only what I saw and experienced myself.

At 10:00 a.m. on May 19 two armoured vehicles followed by over 20 trucks came into Kumnam Street, the main thoroughfare of Kwangju. This was an entry of the "special paratroops". As soon as the soldiers wearing black berets alighted from the trucks in the neighbourhood of the Central Church, they lined up along both sides of the street and prepared themselves for action. Then they started wielding clubs against the passers-by. I rushed in spite of myself to the second floor of a building and looked down the street. A young man shed blood hit by a club. Soldiers held him up and threw him away as far as they could.

The Kwangju people flew into a violent rage. They simply thought how it could be. When the students and citizens fled towards the Hanil Bank, the soldiers attacked and outraged them cruelly. A soldier had a rifle in one hand and a sword in the other. Another had long swords in both hands. Not a soul was to be seen in the street and only a few press cars were passing at times. The soldiers were out of their minds. Forty or fifty minutes passed in such a state before a Tonga Ilbo's car went by. After the passage of nearly one hour, old folks were

allowed to go their way. I, too, went out of the building and walked towards the provincial government office.

The soldiers combed the alleys in Chungjang and Hwanggum Streets in search of young people. They dragged out the arrested young people, doing violence to them. About three metres ahead of me, in front of the Hanil Bank situated at the point of the intersection, soldiers struck a young man on the head with a club, whereupon he collapsed on the spot, drenched with blood. This was the second bloody scene I witnessed. When I shouted in spite of myself, "You dirty swines!" more than 10 soldiers came rushing towards me. I ran for life along the fence of the Hanil Bank. The surrounding people cried aloud, so I could have a narrow escape from death, getting only one beating on the shoulder.

Search and violence escalated to the outskirts of Kwangju during the night of the 19th and continued on the morning of the 20th. The fear-stricken citizens retreated on the morning of the 20th, thus shedding no more blood. However, those who had witnessed the fiendish atrocities and could not calm themselves down began to assemble at the square in front of the provincial government office. Towards 6:00 p.m. their number swelled to over 100,000. They staged a demonstration throughout the night, shouting slogans: "Abolish the martial law!" "Let Chon Du Hwan resign!" The army and police only watched them without wielding their clubs. It was hard to say whether they were overawed by the people or dictated by an operational purpose.

Early on the morning of the 21st I came out on foot to that square. Towards 8 o'clock the section covering from the fountain before the provincial government office to the Catholic Centre was filled with the army and police, while that from the Catholic

Centre to Kumnam Street was crowded with citizens. Between both sides facing each other there was a rear-car on which lay the corpses of two victims. Student leaders holding mikes in their hands tearfully condemned the martial law forces for their barbarities before the citizens. There was no clash between the citizens and the army and police.

Meanwhile, around that time, 70 priests representing different denominations were holding a meeting which continued till one o'clock. Gun reports were heard past noon. It was for the first time that guns were fired in the daytime, though there had been firing at the night of the 20th. When I went near the provincial government office past one o'clock, the soldiers were shooting at random from the building of that office seized by the special paratroops and the nearby buildings were giving forth smoke. In front of the Tochong Tea House I saw a citizen among the crowds fell vomiting blood, hit by a bullet. The alarmed crowds quickly dispersed and the square was strewn with their belongings and shoes. It looked like the trace of a battle. Shooting continued till towards 4 o'clock and the square was inaccessible.

The citizens retreated to the neighbourhood of the Central Church and the students appealed to them without letup through highly efficient mikes. They were reporting in detail on the number of the dead, the names of Chonnam University students who were injured and carried to hospitals, those needing blood transfusion, and so on. The army and police were concentrated in the provincial government office, but there were no gun shots between 4 and 6. The crowds filled the section from the neighbourhood of the Catholic Centre to Kumnam Street. Their number was estimated to be about 200,000. Past 7 o'clock there was an armed clash between the army and police and students and scores of people fell down. The army and police instantly deserted the provincial govern-

ment office and the police station and evacuated to Choson University in the neighbourhood. The citizens began to seize the provincial government office from past 7 and completely occupied it at night. The army and police, in anticipation of this situation, had taken all documents away in the morning while guarding the office. So, the citizens took over the empty building only.

On the 22nd a committee for saving the situation was organized by the anxiety-ridden citizens who, unable to remain with folded arms, gathered in the square and elected some representatives from among the religious and press circles. In the provincial government office, student representatives were elected and departments formed. Around that time weapons arrived from the outskirts of Kwangju. The room of the situation department of the provincial government office was occupied by the students' headquarters. The young people were thus armed with rifles and this made the citizens worry about the possibility of serious bloodshed.

The members of the committee for saving the situation as well as the students were divided into the hawks and doves. The doves were far superior in the committee. The hawks asserted that the struggle must be continued until Chon's resignation, while the doves insisted on saving the Kwangju citizens, to begin with from bloodshed, that is, on "coping with the situation before struggling".

On the 22nd and 23rd, too, there were clashes between the army and the citizens in the environs of Kwangju, presenting a miserable scene where corpses were transferred increasingly. In face of such reality, the hawks were obliged to follow the doves' view.

On the 23rd the number of corpses kept in the Sangmu Hall in front of the provincial government

office had already reached 40. They had been left intact on the streets though others had been taken away by the army or their relatives. As the situation was too serious, most of the situation-saving committee members considered it a primary task to put an end to massacre. The moderate students who had seized the situation department room of the provincial government office, that is, the students' headquarters, till the 24th, now began to work for preventing bloodshed. Until that time they had fought well in good order and discipline. The students had taken 6,000 guns and acquired a great amount of dynamite by that time. The citizens were afraid of its explosion, remembering the Riri railway station which had been blown off several years before by the explosion of dynamite in a freight car. The doves decided to cause no more bloodshed and sacrifices to the citizens by making the students return their rifles methodically.

On the 24th they all rode about on jeeps, appealing to the students to offer their rifles. The situation-saving committee members, too, went out even to the cordon of police at the risk of their lives and called upon the students to lay their arms and fight barehanded. As a result, 3,700 rifles, 1,000 hand grenades and a large amount of dynamite were collected and stored in the headquarters in the provincial government office that day. I thought the citizens and students of Kwangju were good people. Though they had taken up arms, angered by the outrages of the special army paratroopers, they now returned their arms in tears. I thought over and over again why it was impossible to build a democratic state with such a people. They showed beautiful behaviours helping each other without taking a single disorderly, violent act even in that turmoil. It was army troops and Chon Du Hwan who violated order. The people are good democratic minds. Those villains are destroying it.

The situation took a turn for the worse on the 25th, Sunday. The so-called poisoned needle case took place on the morning of that day. The poisoned needle is said to be kept by a spy from the north to commit suicide in case of falling into the danger of arrest. Stung with this needle, two students in Kwangju had allegedly lost their senses and recovered consciousness later. The leadership of the students issued a statement denouncing it as an act of an agent infiltrated by the martial law force to frame up the involvement of the north's spy in the Kwangju incident. Anyhow, this case got the citizens to feel uneasy about the students defending the provincial government office. The impure elements and agents hidden in their ranks might play every evil trick. What would happen if they set fire to the dynamite kept there? Maybe two kilometres round would be blown off.

At 3:00 in the afternoon of that day a meeting of the situation-saving committee was held in a tense and pathetic atmosphere. The committee membership increased to 26 representing Catholic and Protestant churches, pressmen, judicial officers, women, peasants, students, youth, etc. The meeting decided to control the coming in and out of the provincial government office. It was held in secret, for the moderate remarks there used to face criticism when made public. This meeting, too, failed to arrive at any conclusion. At that time the chairman of the students' committee entered and said in tears that they could not fight on any longer as they nearly went out of their mind, struggling almost without eating and sleeping for 4 to 5 days on end. "I should like you to cope with the situation. I will lay my gun and go out." The committee decided to follow the moderate line and particularly to guard the dynamite strictly.

On the morning of the 26th, too, about 50 Protestant pastors held a meeting. Never before had there been a case where so many pastors had gathered to-

gether for discussion, transcending their sects. At the meeting they decided to carry into practice the resolution of the previous meeting on collecting 10 million *won* to begin with, to relieve the wounded. Over 1.3 million *won* had already been donated by the time of the second meeting. An urgency motion was proposed there. Fifteen corpses were brought in the provincial government office on the 25th, too, and 300,000 *won* was needed for their coffins. So, the meeting decided to buy coffins with donated money, first of all, and conduct the funeral service of the deceased. Thus, an elder pastor conveyed one million *won* to the students of the headquarters in the provincial government office.

In this connection, the Martial Law Command published later that he had given support to the hawks, that is, the "rioters" in its language, while encouraging them to fight on instead of returning their weapons. Like this, they cooked up a false story out of such a well-intended action based on the formal decision of the pastors. Moreover, they insisted that the money had come from Kim Dae Jung's agitation funds for the Kwangju incident. An elder pastor who heard this through his television set is said to have destroyed it in a moment of anger. Under the rule of Chon Du Hwan it is terrible even to televise. Such a black lie is telecast throughout the country. But the churches and citizens of Kwangju are enduring it. Isn't it they who are going to rule this country? Whom do they mean by rioters? Unless they withdraw that lie, we will never go by what their mouths say. After the poisoned needle case, the members of the situation-saving committee, too, had to frequent the provincial government office at the risk of their lives. The dynamite in the basement might be exploded at any moment and they, too, might be stung with a poisoned needle.

A few students in the provincial government of-

fice had close personal relations with me. But I could not advise them to return home. Some students returned to their houses only to leave them. But most of them were killed by the martial law troops who attacked them on the early morning of the 27th.

The Martial Law Command warned that it would open an attack despite a possible loss of lives unless things would not come to a normal state until 12:00 p.m. on the 26th. At 5:00 p.m. that day the situation-saving committee managed to hold a meeting which was attended by only 5 members. Whether they were in despair or in fear was hard to understand. They were a lawyer, a woman representative, two pastors, and a priest. As the deadline—12:00 p.m.—drew near, a student representative of the doves sat down plump on the floor and wept, saying: "Sirs! It will be 12 o'clock before long. What shall we do? Offer us conclusion. If you can't do it, what is the use of the situation-saving committee?"

It was thus proposed to make both the doves and the hawks participate in the meeting. Seven members of the hawks, 5 members of the doves and 5 members of the situation-saving committee sat at one place and held a secret tripartite talk. The doves asserted: "We must save the citizens. No one knows when the dynamite will be exploded. Let us return our weapons after putting forward our demands." But the hawks said: "We must fight to the last man. Hundreds of people died and more than 1,000 are seriously or lightly injured. We must fight even for their sake." Both were right. The hawks went on: "We cannot believe in any promise of the authorities. Have they ever fulfilled their promise? At the time of the Sabuk Colliery revolt, too, they cruelly punished the workers against their promise, didn't they?" In fact, it was too cruel to make the students return their weapons without any step to secure their lives. I think the Kwangju incident, too, could have been tided over with less

sacrifices, but for the repeated treachery of the authorities.

The situation-saving committee came to a conclusion that the citizens should be saved. So, the head of the hawks quit the place, declaring that there was no need to speak any longer. The women's representative burst into tears, saying: "I cannot say either to advance or to retreat. If we advance, hundreds of people will die tonight. But it is too miserable to make a retreat after shedding so much blood." Then she and the Catholic representative also walked out. The remaining three decided to talk with the martial law authorities to save the citizens, though it was like striking a rock with an egg. The remaining students of the hawks too followed them. It was decided to call in the Martial Law Commander and the provincial governor to the provincial government office. Prior to this, the Martial Law Commander had announced that he would have the final conference with the situation-saving committee even at the risk of his life.

At that time the committee members had a mind to make him sign a written promise at least, even if it were a false one, that he would never retaliate on the students. They decided to return the weapons if only they could secure safety at least, even pushing aside political demands. Until that time the phone line of the provincial government office had not been interrupted. So, they phoned the Martial Law Commander time and again, but there was no response. It seemed that the final orders of operation had already been issued. At the moment, the student of the hawks in charge of weapons came in and protested: "Who have decided to return the weapons? Those who have done such a thing do not spare their lives?" Thus saying, he drew his pistol. In protest against him a student of the doves shouted: "We too want to fight. But we must save the citizens now." But the tough student struck him on the head with his pistol

and pointed it at him. A pastor dragged him out. Another pastor stopped the moderate student, and said "Don't be excited! Be careful!" The student threw himself down crying. The pastor soothed him for a good while.

Towards 8 o'clock the situation-saving committee members were going to return to the meeting room, when about 30 students stood in the way and did not allow them to enter. They said: "We are ready for the worst." The Martial Law Command did not answer the phone and the students were prepared to die fighting. This led to another terrible event on the early morning of the 27th.

Thereafter, I once joined in a group to confirm the corpses and console the wounded. In the Chonnam University Hospital, for instance, there were 196 wounded persons out of which 78 were severely wounded. A certain man was shot by a M-16 rifle. In case of a carbine bullet, it left the wounds of same size when it pierced through the body. But a M-16 bullet caused a much bigger wound when it pierced out of the body revolving. So, doctors said it was a special bullet and considered it a dumdum. The paratroopers who had come later used M-16 rifles. A rumour went about that they had cut off the breasts of women. I am not sure to say about that because I did not see it with my own eyes. But I could clearly see their cruelty from the 78 wounded persons.

On the 19th a worker who was pulling a cart in Chungjang Street was arrested and taken away into an alley by a martial law army soldier. Later he was found dead with 9 sword wounds on his head. Another man got his head cut in twain hit by a sword straightly from the forehead to the eyes, nose and mouth. A young man had his eyes crushed, though he could remember that he had been hauled off into a byway by soldiers and trampled under their boots.

In the sick wards of the nerve department on the

fifth and sixth floors there were many inpatients. They were wounded on the head by soldiers' clubs. A certain man underwent operations for the brain several times, but doctors said it was impossible for him to restore his normal cerebration. A woman lay in bed along with a girl baby. She had got injured in the head and left arm as she had passed by the market, carrying the baby on her back. There was a man who had been injured in his room by a stray bullet coming through the double window. It was a bolt from the blue. How on earth will the Chon Du Hwan clique deal with this blood-stained historic event? They are making desperate efforts to conceal this fact from the people at home and from the world public.

Our nation must never forget this tragedy of Kwangju which took place in May 1980. Isn't there anyone who will leave the massacre of Kwangju in his work like Picasso's "Guernica"?

MASTERLESS HISTORY

Jul. 18, 1980

How to describe these days? Masterless days—perhaps this is the very apt expression. Mobs pounce upon people and kill them randomly. If anyone is condemned to be wicked, he is immediately put to the sword. Those ransomed by the mobs are obedient to their orders. President Choe Gyu Ha was and is called a figurehead both under the Pak and present regimes. What he speaks is dictated by the Chon Du

Hwan group behind the scenes. He performs the function of merely reading their orders by proxy. When he publishes a presidential statement, he is ridiculous enough to pay particular stress on such words: "as President and as Supreme Commander of the ROK army." He tries hard to impress that he is speaking of his own accord, not wirepulled by the military. But, in fact, he is forced to say even those words, too. If he thinks that the backstage manipulator can be concealed with such a farce, it would be a shallow idea. My journalist friend whispered a talk of the town to me:

"At present a story is in vogue among the students that the knees of Choe Gyu Ha are bruised. It is because he pinches his knees every day to ascertain whether he is really President. Recently this story has reached his ears. So, he has set in motion his private secretaries imperceptibly to spread a rumour that Choe was utilizing Chon Du Hwan and other military men. Perhaps this, too, might have been done on orders of the Chon group. If it is true, what is the use of spreading that rumour? Nor has he any courage to do so. He must be now satisfied with the status of a figurehead President. Really, this land is without the master."

After the Kwangju incident, the Chon Du Hwan-led Special National Security Committee openly declared that the "moral politics", "moral society" and "the embodiment of social justice" would be the target to be attained. They have the cheek to describe themselves as a force of morality and justice after randomly murdering the peaceable citizens in Kwangju. They are allegedly aspiring to a moral society after barricading the Seoul streets. As they flourished bayonets in Kwangju, they administer the affairs of state hit or miss. By their building of a

moral society it means liquidation of corruption and purge of public employees.

On June 18, the Martial Law Command made public a list of nine illicit money-hoarders including Kim Jong Pil and Li Hu Rak and announced that 85,300 million *won* of money was transferred to the state treasury, including 21,600 million *won* from Kim Jong Pil and 19,400 million *won* from Li Hu Rak and that it would absolve them from a penal responsibility on the condition of their withdrawal from all their official posts. It was said that on July 1, four national assemblymen from the opposition party, Ye Chun Ho, Li Taek Don, Son Ju Hang and Kim Rok Yong who were known as supporters of Kim Dae Jung, submitted their resignation. On July 9, 12.1 per cent of senior public employees above the second grade were reported to be fired. This is the greatest purge since the founding of the "Republic of Korea." And on July 15, 4,760 public employees under the third grade were purged. This is also an unprecedented massive dismissal. A threatening rumour is flying about that 40 per cent of the government officials will be replaced. As to this, it is worth introducing the comment of my reporter friend:

"What can they do when the system itself is based on violence and corruption? A certain high-ranking official of my acquaintance said to me: Once one is regarded as corrupt, his property is confiscated. In my case, I was fired on account of my statement that the military men knew nothing of administration. If I institute administrative litigation, I may be imprisoned or killed. Everyone has to pocket an insult. Because the figures were adjusted by order, there might have been various instances in the grass-roots circles. All running afoul of their superiors might have been handed the can! He said this way, but this purge has various political reasons. Those who showed even the

least inclination for freedom when there was a puff of democratization, would not be safe. And those who had once belonged to the Kim Jong Pil faction are also purged. It was mainly from this reason that 300 leading figures were sacked from the KCIA. Anyhow, in order to establish Chon's ruling system, it is necessary to shock the government officials and secure their unquestioning loyalty. A nationwide reshuffle of government officials is needed for a show of democracy. This may explain the mass expulsion of policemen this time."

The moral society advertized by Chon means a terror-ridden society. All the Kim Dae Jung-lining people will be expelled from the national assembly, allowing no chance of reinstatement. It is said that there will be a purge of educational workers during the summer vacation. This purge will extend to all spheres including the financial world. So, uneasiness is growing even among the Yusin remnants. They think this whirl of purge is a reckless measure which may threaten even their own safety. So, they seek for a chance to escape from this country, if possible. My journalist friend continued:

"The sources of Kim Dae Jung's political funds are still concealed from the public. They have convicted Kim Dae Jung as a communist. But they seem unable to deny the fact that his fund came from various people within the country. Some funds were furnished by a Honam financial group, but it seems that the greater part of them came from unknown minor entrepreneurs in good faith. No doubt, these people will be drawn into the vortex of purification. The rich are also captivated by uneasiness. When the society is made thus horror-ridden, the masses of people will struggle for survival, far from putting up resistance. This is a logic of the military. They have no political

plan. That is why they make a fuss to signify their existence."

According to my friend, Chon Du Hwan said before journalists: "My task will be fulfilled when three Kims are neutralized and the machinery of the KCIA is reduced." The three Kims mean Kim Jae Gyu who assassinated Pak Jung Hi, Kim Jong Pil, President of the Republican Party, and Kim Dae Jung. Kim Jae Gyu was already executed at Chon's hands, Kim Jong Pil was expelled and Kim Dae Jung is to be put to a military tribunal. The reduction of the KCIA means strengthening the Army Security Command under Chon's direct control, the intent of which is to penetrate it deep into the political world. This has been a long-cherished desire of the military.

The Pak regime was the military regime. Nevertheless, the KCIA was so corpulent that even army commanders were under the control of the KCIA agents active within the military. Generals were subjected to surveillance of the field grade KCIA officers and their private life was not free. For this, in 1973 Maj. Gen. Yun Pil Yong, Commander of the Capital Defence Garrison, tried to push aside the KCIA and establish a military control system headed by Pak Jung Hi. But this scheme proved abortive and he was sentenced to 15-year imprisonment. His plan had been to exclude the KCIA, not Pak Jung Hi, Chon Du Hwan, a trustful adherent of Yun Pil Yong, now thinks that he has put that plan into effect. Rumour of Yun Pil Yong becoming the KCIA Chief cropped up. But he was appointed president of the highway corporation on June 28. My journalist friend told me about the words that Chon Du Hwan let out with a smile at the party celebrating Yun's restoration:

"In excluding three Kims, there remains only

Kim Dae Jung. The KCIA has been reduced. I have nearly accomplished my duty. So, shall I seek refuge in America? (laughing). It seems that the Americans hate me. But they will be glad if I take refuge. But, if I do so, I will feel sorry for my colleagues who have worked together with me."

The Chon Du Hwan group, too, may not think that they can rule the country this way. They may be in a mood to climb a hill till they tumble down. They may run wild until their doom. Yet, they, too, must be feeling very uneasy. Everybody doubts how Chon Du Hwan can prolong his life while changing the roost every night. He seems to be getting no peace from the military. A rumour says that General Chong Sung Hwa has already been released though he was deposed from the post of Martial Law Commander by Chon Du Hwan and sentenced to 7-year imprisonment at the time of the December 12 event. Chon is said to be trying his hardest to recover popularity within the military. My friend went on to say:

"That is not all of property Kim Jong Pil and Li Hu Rak hold. Their overseas property remains untouched. And they are not treated as criminals at all. Those are only mere particle of their fortunes. After sweeping away the democratic forces Chon will join hands with them again. They are of the same stock. Chon is ploughing a lonely furrow now. He is cut off from army men, too. To surmount this trouble, he will take hands with the hooligans. Didn't Pak Jung Hi take hands with those military men whom he had condemned to capital punishment on charge of having attempted to overthrow him? Chon should follow suit. Otherwise, he cannot go on ruling over the people whom he takes for his enemy. Now he and his men are pretending to be different from the military men who had made money by brandishing power under the Pak regime. Those under the Pak regime, too, had

acted like that at first. The Chon Du Hwan group will be more corrupt than them. Those expelled now will be reinstated and join the Chon's group. They have quite remarkable talent in seizing power."

True, Chon Du Hwan was on his beam-ends without any helper. He met a lot of people, but no one was willing to cooperate with him. So, he reportedly complained that everyone he had met was good-for-nothing. He seems to have met ex-President Yun Bo Son more than once before. But since the Kwangju incident, he is declining Yun's request for an interview. The same can be said of Catholic Cardinal Kim Su Hwan. A friend of mine much interested in the democratization movement, whispered:

"It seems that he has resolved to run along the course of flagitious villainy at the risk of his life since the Kwangju incident. Many people may be overrun by this runaway carriage. Resistance to him may get him more excited. So many persons want to meet him in an eager hope to control his tightrope exercise, if only a little. But he gives no access to them after the Kwangju incident. I think there should be a temporary ease. Isn't there any way to acquire it?"

The Chon Du Hwan faction seems to have carried forward the way of existence the Pak regime followed. It is the seed sown by the Pak Jung Hi rule. Kim Dae Jung is the symbol of the nation's sufferings and represents nation's sagacity. Chon Du Hwan is the symbol of the Yusin remnants and represents their Satan. But it is not politics to refer to both in contrast this way. Is there no one who can fulfil such a difficult task as to smash this disparity, when Kim Dae Jung's life is at stake and the whole land of south Korea is on the verge of being scorched? Here-

in lies the misery of the society which has been polarized under the dictatorial regime. Chon Du Hwan is carrying his life in his hands after the Kwangju incident. The present power with such brutal force will resort to more horrible violence.

Meanwhile, the economy is in a state of steady decline. Economists say that the south Korean economy will go to ruin unless a decisive measure is taken in a few years. Army men are said to discuss about the economic problem almost every day. But what can they do for it? Hot-tempered and self-complacent by nature, they will only lose impatience. The currency has inflated by 50 per cent in a year. A few newspaper articles are enough to convince us of the economy in an appalling state.

Workers' real wages are decreasing while their wages in arrears are increasing. The Office of Labour has reportedly issued an order to stop giving allowance in kind instead of that in cash. Enterprises are cutting down their operation rate. They are being fragmentized, letting out many workers. The government is putting pressure upon them in order to stop this process. For all this, a few monopoly enterprises are tightening their control over the market as the days go by. Newspapers report that their share in the total of output of major products increased from 69.8 per cent in 1974 to 86.1 per cent in 1977. I wonder how its figure stands now in 1980.

According to a press report south Korea is asking the international economic council in charge of south Korea for 7,000-8,000 million dollars of foreign currency annually for two years to come. The adverse foreign trade balance will amount to 6,000 million dollars this year. Even according to the government's announcement the amount of debts to be paid to foreign countries will reach 26,700 million dollars by the end of this year. Depression is felt everywhere. In this summer vacation train and bus

passengers are no more than half as against last year. The government ascribes this to the disturbance of social stability by the democratic forces and forces newspapers to develop the same tune. An editorial of *Tonga Ilbo*, however, criticizes the government authorities for concocting figures while pursuing wrong agricultural policy which leads to importing 630,000 tons of rice this year at the price of 200 million dollars. This is a mild protest against the government which is practising arbitrary bureaucracy in face of the present economic crisis, instead of relying on people's cooperation. The paper carries another editorial expressing its impressions of the first half of 1980. Lamenting that "It is really hard to bring democratic development to this country", the editorial grieves over the Kwangju incident and calls for dialogue and persuasion. It is the short editorial, barely one third of ordinary ones.

The martial law authorities ban the newspapers from talking democracy. Though they describe the Kwangju incident as a product of rash acts, no newspaper editorial has ever echoed it. The press is surreptitiously attacking the military that is not trying to save the situation through dialogue and persuasion. This is a critical juncture. So, it is necessary to have dialogue, exercising self-restraint. But the military remnants are hampering national unity with their riotous acts: They are balking the opportunity of regimenting national sagacity and of displaying national wisdom and harmony in face of the present crisis. What is worse, they are going to take the life of Kim Dae Jung who is able to bring national sagacity down to earth.

HIDDEN TRUTH BEHIND "REBELLION PLOT CASE"

Jul. 18, 1980

At last on July 4 the Martial Law Command made public the result of the investigation on the "Kim Dae Jung faction's rebellion plot case". As a communist Kim Dae Jung instigated students to overthrow the government under his plan to set up an interim government.

A lawyer insisted: "Isn't it natural for a politician to advocate his policy through his organization? The finding doesn't supply any concrete evidence for his communist activity, does it? Moreover, his funds of 1,200 million *won* were donated by honest and politically-minded people and are being appropriated quite properly. They could complain only that he had purchased three small apartments for 69 million *won*."

Saying that the law doesn't forbid him to do it, the same lawyer added:

"They did not prohibit the newspapers from referring to Kim Dae Jung with prefix Mr., even while accusing him in their interim report of having attempted to overthrow the government. But this time a newspaper headlines 'Kim Dae Jung Committed to the Military Trial', cutting out the prefix from his name. They are trying hard to make a Red of

him through TV and radio. Newspaper titles are: 'Kim Dae Jung and Others Committed to the Military Trial. The US State Department and Japan Refrain from Commenting It', 'Japan Communist Party, Korean Chongryon and Other Pro-north Forces Mount Campaign to Save Kim Dae Jung', 'North Insists on the Release of Kim Dae Jung and Others', 'North's Fatherland Front Vindicates Kim Dae Jung'. The last two are based on 'Seoul Naeoe' dispatches, that is, on the KCIA sources while the others on 'Hapdong' dispatches. They seemingly dared not deal with them in the name of their special correspondents. I hear the US government is discrediting the investigation results, while the Japanese government is expressing apprehension. West European countries and the International Amnesty, too, seem to have gone into action. But this fact is kept in dark, allowing newspapers to deal with only reaction of communist-lining people and organizations abroad. Their murderous scheme is quite transparent. The press editorials do not share the government's opinion of Kim Dae Jung. The best policy for newspapers would be not to deal with it in editorials and comments. I wonder what those ruffians will do with Kim Dae Jung."

"How dare Chon Du Hwan and the like kill Kim Dae Jung whose life could not be taken by even Pak Jung Hi? But they are daredevils who can pay for a foolhardy act with their lives. This is the problem", the lawyer said worryingly. What they call a moral society is such a lawless one. The lawyer went on:

"Kim Dae Jung may narrowly escape death in case the United States recognizes their power in exchange for security to his life. If the world public opinion strongly demands it, the United States may

do so to preserve its honour. Both the United States and Japan may feel like removing him and taking their own way with the military of south Korea under the revived cold-war system. The United States may utter some flowery words to save its prestige while merely advising Chon Du Hwan to act more smartly lest he should lose popularity among the people. But Chon Du Hwan is now keeping newspapers from conveying even such empty compliments, while letting them repeat that the United States insists on pursuing the security-first policy and effecting no change of its relations with south Korea. But the US must have said more than that. Now the anti-US feeling of the people in this country is so high that it may explode at any moment. In face of such mounting anti-US sentiments, the United States will team up with the Chon Du Hwan faction in suppressing the south Korean people. In particular, it may fear such situation of south Korea should affect southeast Asia, too. That's why the United States stresses security on every occasion. It considers there can be security even when the army takes the people for an enemy and kills them in cold blood. This is the long-standing, immutable US policy towards south Korea."

If Kim Dae Jung is put to death, there can be no reconciliation of the people with the Chon Du Hwan faction and with the military and the government under their thumb. The saying that might is right doesn't hold in south Korea. Power should be legitimate. That's why the Chon Du Hwan faction is awkwardly parroting Kim Dae Jung's words about a moral government. They can suppress people but cannot rule over them. Even while croaking about the moral government, they send their men to influential intellectuals to openly threaten them with these words: "Don't underestimate the military. It's

sheer nonsense that history is made by the people. Talk it hundreds of years later."

According to a certain journalist, Chon Du Hwan changes colour and becomes bloodshot if Kim Dae Jung is mentioned before him. So, no one dare mention Kim Dae Jung in Chon's face. He said gloomily: "Chon is afire with the desire for revenge. He seems to take the life of Kim Dae Jung at any cost since he is his foe. What a terrible thing!"

Kim Dae Jung must have prepared himself mentally for such situation. But he might not expect that they would go to the extreme of such rashness against him enjoying the support of the people. Quite a few people grieve over his sad fate, thinking he should be made to remain an assemblyman while placing Kim Yong Sam in the presidential seat.

But I don't think this measure alone could ward off the scheme of the military remnants. The conflict was inevitable. The Kwangju incident showed what they are like, didn't it? Now they are arresting even housewives, chiefly YWCA members, who prepared and supplied rice-balls to the young people.

In effect, many women in Kwangju lost their lives while trying to save young people. It is a common knowledge that hands are hardly laid on a female when things are not so serious. But such a limit or restraint was no concern of Chon Du Hwan.

A notice that nine prisoners including Kim Dae Jung, Pastor Mun Ik Hwan, and Prof. Li Mun Yong were transferred to the military prison in the Namhansan Castle south of Seoul came to their families. But when they went there, they were told that those prisoners had not come. So they roamed about the street, carrying changes of clothes and other things to be sent in.

Chang Gi Pyo and Sim Jae Gwon on the list of those nine prisoners are not arrested. Other 28 persons implicated in the same case are said to be

committed to the military trial soon, but their names are not made public. This is attributed to a difficulty in framing up criminal charges against them. Everyone jeers at the investigation results of the Kim Dae Jung case, thinking that if there had been no purge of so many KCIA men a bit better ones could have been cooked up.

Purge and arrest are rough as they proceed on military order. The arrested are accused of being appointed as ministers of an interim government on their oath to loyalty, but none of them admits it. The martial law authorities in charge of the investigation are said to have borrowed Prof. Li Mun Yong's memo-book bearing his friends' names.

Winding up this rather lengthy report, I would like to convey the information a young man gave me today and his views and resolve.

"Today it is made clear that the pastors, professors and journalists implicated in the May 15 situational declaration of 134 intellectuals' case have been rounded up. In the declaration they demanded the withdrawal of the emergency martial law and Chon Du Hwan's resignation from the post of KCIA chief. Three lawyers Pak Se Gyong, Li Don Myong and Hong Song U for Kim Dae Jung are also arrested. According to them, the military trial faced by Kim Dae Jung this time utterly ignored legal procedures, there was no knowing how matters stood with Kim Dae Jung, they were not allowed to see him, and he might be forced to admit accusation. So, those lawyers are said to have agreed to adopt the tactics of boycotting defence. Probably this is the cause of their arrest. Kim Dae Jung's wife, too, is in a wretched plight. Wives of conscientious offenders call for saving her first because threat and surveillance may drive her to madness. The trial of Kim Dae Jung in such an atmosphere is simply intended to

murder him." In addition, the young man conveyed an incredible rumour. Im Song Hui, the ex-president of Chungang University, is arrested all of a sudden. The reason is that he attempted to save the life of Kim Dae Jung by holding a member of the Japanese embassy in south Korea as a hostage. I simply laughed away this queer rumour. But it may be a symptom of the critical situation Kim Dae Jung is in. Saying that there were a few unsuccessful attempts within the military to remove Chon Du Hwan, he went on:

"Commander Wickham and ambassador Greysteen are now in the United States. So far they have left Korea whenever a great tragical event happened. I wonder if it is not an attempt to escape responsibility. This time it may be related to Kim Dae Jung's life. Greysteen is said to have breathed a hint to many people that the life of Kim Dae Jung would eventually be saved even though a capital sentence was passed on him at the first trial. I think it is designed to dodge responsibility by blaming Chon Du Hwan for a breach of promise in case the worst comes to Kim Dae Jung."

The young man said with confidence that if a misfortune befalls Kim the United States is to blame for it.

He went on in a tearful voice, presumably by the effect of a few cups of beer:

"Those referred to in the so-called finding of the Kim Dae Jung case are all very good people. They remind me of the patriots who faced the court at the time of Japanese imperialist rule. What a pity it is that such people should be punished by the brutal force! But we don't feel desperate or impatient. They can never hold on to power while im-

prisoning and murdering people like that as if they were an enemy. Asked if he was controlling rumours, a taxi driver said: 'How can I incur grudge while praying against accident every day? I have no mind to help the KCIA and bear witness at court to obtain the privilege of a model driver.' No one but agents does that thing. For all their desperate efforts to control rumours, every one says openly: 'To hell with those bastards!' Chon Du Hwan has already used every means available. No one can go against the stream of history. We had once been isolated as minority, but now they are isolated from the people. Their last resort to suppress the people will tighten the noose around their own neck. We will take resolute action at the decisive moment."

Bystanders may fear the devilish history. But it seems that even in this city of horror, courage and hope always accompany those fighting against the devilish history. After seeing him off in the dark, I looked at the silent night sky for a while. Something hot welled up in me in spite of myself.

LIKE UNDER COLONIAL RULE

Aug. 18, 1980

This summer is as cool as autumn. People fear cold-weather damage. Some 160 persons were reportedly dead or missing on July 22 in a heavy rain in the central area, the flood damage amounting to 46,300 million *won*. People whisper that 1980 is an

ill-fated year when Chon Du Hwan is going to seize power.

Chon Du Hwan and his ilk have no political blueprint to be shown to the people. So, they shout out "purge" every day. It is said that they ousted 5,000 ordinary government officials, 600 educational officials, 350 officials in the sphere of mass communications and 1,800 employees of state-run enterprises, wielding the sword. They also made public a new educational system of increasing the number of new students by 30-50 per cent while decreasing the number of graduates that much. Anyone engaging or acting as a private teacher is punishable. All the private courses are abolished. Everything is enforced then and there as they are armymen.

They may derive pleasure from it, but they don't care for what result it will produce. There is no room for doubt that they cannot promote education with such an intuitive idea. In this country only the armymen have the supreme idea, supreme morality and supreme decision. These days newspapers report that with those qualities Chon Du Hwan is commanding great popularity at home and abroad. And meetings are being held throughout the country, calling for spiritual revolution through this purification campaign. But they should know that they can never rally the south Korean people around them so easily with such meetings.

They are allegedly catching the applause of the people, but no one knows whether it is true. Newspapers only hail them and do not echo the people's voice. I wonder if the following murmur of intellectuals represents the people's voice.

"They kick up a stupid row. They boast of having rounded up 16,599 ruffians. Anyone shouting at a tavern is walked off. A person with a tattoo on any part of the body is branded as a ruffian. Now ta-

verns have no customers. Armymen may think everything will go well if only they cut away what is in their way. They don't think that corruption kept breeding as all powers had been concentrated on one man and the people had been deprived of their function of watch and criticism. They have no mind to establish a democratic system. There is no Constitution or law but the absolute will and words of Chon Du Hwan. A disobedient person is threatened with death. An innocent purgee cannot go to law. Any sign of lawsuit is threatened with imprisonment. No upright person can cooperate with such a system. Ministers are now at work merely at the bidding of the armymen. But there is no knowing when they will be ousted or imprisoned as good-for-nothings. Probe into those who had been in the power elite will reveal their misdeeds. There are still many corrupt elements including leaders of the Republican Party. They are all trembling with fear now. Some are expelled or imprisoned while others are passing off without mischance. Those who used gold rice bowls as assembly chairman or ministers are still kept safe."

Indeed, purge is a serious matter. The Chon Du Hwan faction is said to be pressed for purge by those of field grade who graduated from the Military Academy. It fears their protests as well as generals'. Making some officers of field grade give situational lectures, Chon Du Hwan praises them before journalists and enterprisers, saying: "These young officers are really a hope of the country." It seems very hard to maintain power without self-confidence.

Chon Du Hwan resorts to every available means to seize power. He calls government-sponsored meetings, sets reptile organizations into motion and forces newspapers to write that the US supports him and that a certain foreign paper praises him. There

is nothing new in his work. Everything he does is trite and stale. As home newspapers do not appraise his "determination" and "merits" in their editorials, he himself says to foreign correspondents: "The social purge commands an active support of the people. Professional politicians are of no use. A leader of younger generation (alluding to himself) is necessary. It is God's will to meet this necessity." Probably because of his military profession or lack of refinement, his self-admiration is too open and detestable. On his personality and relations with the United States a reporter friend commented:

"Lieut. Gen. Kim Bok Dong, now serving as the director of the Military Academy, earned the honour of standing first among the first regular term graduates of the Military Academy. Chon Du Hwan was a goalkeeper and backward student. At first Kim Bok Dong seemed to be cooperating with him. But later he said he wanted to remain a military man alien to politics. This has transferred him from the post of Vice Commander of the Third Army to the Military Academy. The Chon Du Hwan faction was backed by Wickham, Commander of the US Forces in south Korea, as the US Defense Department put up the military-first policy and decided to help anyone controlling the army and the present situation in south Korea. Thanks to him, the Chon Du Hwan faction is in the present state. However, State Secretary Muskie is reportedly resisting such highhanded deeds and words of the Pentagon. The former State Secretary Vance, too, had taken it as a serious matter. Things go like this when an army puts on weight. The leadership of the US army is fused with that of the south Korean army. The US army is morally ruined. Retired officers come to south Korea to serve as an adviser of a US enterprise or live with a south Korean female singer. In

mid-July even such a person as Lieut. Gen. Hollingsworth on the reserve list came to south Korea, didn't he?

This former army corps commander to south Korea was invited and entertained to praise the Chon Du Hwan junta. Now it is hard to see an armyman who spends his closing days with a pure heart."

According to a press report, Lieut. Gen. Hollingsworth is now an adviser of a company serving the purpose of defense and security and a plantation owner. He spoke of the Chon Du Hwan faction as follows:

"At present the south Koreans rely on the determination and wisdom of the leaders in power. The future of south Korea led by such leaders is undoubtedly optimistic."

He came a long way to give these words to the south Korean people for the sake of the Chon Du Hwan junta. By doing so, this retired general may derive something beneficial for the said US company from south Korea.

Besides this retired general, Wickham, Commander of the US Forces in south Korea, is said to have made it clear that the US is backing Chon Du Hwan as he commands the support of the south Korean people for a series of his purge measures. When the south Korean newspapers conveyed this foreign message, a large number of intellectuals felt as if clearly seeing the true colours of the United States. The south Korean newspapers think that view has been agreed upon with the US Defense and State Departments as well as with US ambassador to south Korea. My friend engaging in the democratic movement said in anger:

"This is a modern colony bound to both the United States and Japan. More, they reportedly said: 'Chon Du Hwan is not dependent on foreign countries. The leaders of the south Korean military are nationalists and are eager to achieve their independent will.' It is a real surprise to see that a US commander has gone so far as to praise the nationalism of generals of other country. President Carter and the US State Department appear to be critical of it though our newspapers have not reported about it at all. But I wonder if they too have two tongues in one mouth. They are going to crush Kim Dae Jung while saving their honour with a double-tongue."

As long as the people see the south Korean newspapers and the political reality, their distrust in the US cannot but grow daily. When the Yusin remnants and the military were wavering after the death of Pak Jung Hi unlike now, the people asserted that the military would come to rule the roost unless democratization was promoted. At that time, too, the Commander of the US Forces in south Korea and the US ambassador to south Korea branded this assertion as radicalism and echoed with the claim of the Yusin remnants and the military for gradual democratization. This has brought about the present misery. This is what the Chon Du Hwan faction has cooked up in collusion with the US army. Many of the south Korean intellectuals think this way.

Such being the case, no one was surprised when Chon Du Hwan was promoted to army general on August 5 and when Choe Gyu Ha got out of the presidential office. There is an apparent motive to establish the Chon Du Hwan ruling system and make it a ready-made fact while the US is busy with election. Listening to Choe Gyu Ha's TV statement on his retirement the people were gloomy and silent. How can the murderous outlaw climb up to the pre-

sidential post? How ridiculous it is that this fellow is to effect purge and establish moral principles: Only base fellows will swarm around him and his system. History will go back ten years. An elder muttered sadly to me:

"It has become evident that democratization is impossible without the support of the military. It was too naive to think that the military would support what the people supported. How can the military rule over this country while throwing the most conscientious, popular persons into prison or regarding them as the enemy, while oppressing those young people and many other people like the enemy? There is also a foreign public opinion. The democratic forces will never surrender to the present posture of the Chon Du Hwan junta. The Chon clique are making use of the corrupt elements except some of the Republican Party members. They, too, will have to build up their strength by calling back those purgees as Pak Jung Hi did in the past. Four or five persons alone are unable to keep oppressing the people even though they are backed by the army. If the military had joined hands with the democratic forces in the hope of bringing about chaos-free democratization since it was resolved to effect purge, there must have come a new age based on patriotism. That's a pity! Seen against the way Chon Du Hwan behaves and speaks, there can't be such happening, I think."

For all this, the elder reiterated this purport to Chon Du Hwan at the beginning of this year when the latter called on him with New Year's greetings. But there is still no reply. At that time he told Chon that the military should keep order and start democratization gradually from local autonomy or from universities and enterprises in cooperation with democrats. The elder said with a sigh:

“Torture, massacre, and savage rule as if it were borne by other nation. They arrest leaders at random and condemn them as corrupt and immoral elements before splashing them to be heinous scoundrels. They surpass Japanese imperialism in ferocity. They have revoked the registration of 172 weeklies and monthlies including university papers, Ham Sok Hon’s *Ssiarui Moksori* (A True Voice), Chungang Ilbo’s *Wolgan Jungang* (Central Monthly), popular *Ppurigipun Namu* (A Deep Root), and *Changjakgwa Bipyong* (Creation and Review) which has drawn public attention as a cradle of new thought. Those magazines are intended for the promotion of national culture though they may be inconsistent with the way of thinking of military men. I feel as if the Chon Du Hwan junta, after the Kwangju incident, had taken south Korea at a stretch to such a dark period as that on the eve of the defeat of Japan in the 1940’s. Military men seem to be self-confident that they can do everything and there is nothing special once they tackle it. I’m sure there will be a reaction to this. That will be the most dreadful time. So, I am eager to reason with them on every possible opportunity even by way of reading scriptures to dead ear. But they may say that they, pressed hard with state affairs, have no time to listen to an old man like me. Are they feeling a pleasant thrill while engaging in destruction?”

ENDLESS SACRIFICE

Aug. 18, 1980

This is the time when the people's voice is hushed while only Chon Du Hwan's harsh voice is jarring on everybody's nerves.

On August 13 Kim Yong Sam, the head of the New Democratic Party, made public his retirement from the political world under house arrest. The newspapers gave front-page prominence to this news evidently under the pressure of the military. The military is "purging" the persons of Kim Dae Jung's line to the last man though it intends to keep the New Democratic Party. Article 17 of martial law stipulates: "National assemblymen except flagrant offenders are not arrested or detained during the enforcement of martial law." But this article is utterly neglected. Even within the New Democratic Party, Li Chol Sung, the former NDP head, is safe despite many scandals about him. This is because he had faithfully supported Pak Jung Hi.

They arrest assemblymen, professors and lawyers and force them to hand in their written resignation. Their policy is not to leave even a single person of Kim Dae Jung's line. They include one or two corrupt elements of the ruling party in their list in order to give an impression of "purge" They never let out that Kim Dae Jung-lining persons are arrested, detained or ousted because of their tie with Kim Dae Jung or for political reasons. There is no

way to get the exact number of the arrested on a nationwide scale. According to the Christian Committee for Human Rights, those arrested in Seoul by early August are: 24 religious men (eight released), 24 educators (seven released), 29 pressmen (nine released), six men of letters, 16 lawyers (15 released), 30 politicians (three released), 120 youths and students (three released) and five citizens. This does not include those arrested on charge of corruption while belonging to the government party.

Students and professors are expelled without letup. In Seoul University alone, 101 students have been removed from the register up to now. But there is no knowing how matters stand with the localities including Kwangju and other districts of Cholla Province. In the case of "134 intellectuals' situational declaration" issued on May 15, some 50 lawyers, professors, pressmen, men of letters and religious believers were arrested. Some of them have been released but put out of public office. Lawyers made a written oath that they would not practice law for one year. So, Kim Dae Jung has no lawyer to plead for him at the military trial. Lawyer Pak Se Gyong who had most actively defended many political offenders was walked off on July 16 and is now in prison. He is even banned from meeting his family. Fifteen other lawyers are now released on the pledge that they would retire from the bar for one year. Three prisoners—Song Gon Ho (former chief editor of the newspaper *Tonga Ilbo*), Yu In Ho (professor of rural economy at Chungang University), and Li Ho Chol (writer) are said to be accused of having written the declaration. The Chon Du Hwan clique are making a harsh reprisal on this declaration which puts up seven-point demands including the immediate withdrawal of emergency martial law, the release and reinstatement of democratic personages and the political neutrality of the army.

Among the expelled professors are the presidents of Seoul University and Yonsei University. The reason is that they sympathized with the campus democratization movement after the death of Pak Jung Hi. Some reptile professors are also ousted as betrayers because they put their signature to something like the intellectuals' declaration after the death of Pak Jung Hi. Those who spoke a bit in a free atmosphere after the death of Pak Jung Hi are all expelled. A certain professor is said to have boldly chosen the road of unemployment when he was asked to become chairman of the campus purge committee and supervise and expell his colleagues and students in return for keeping him in his university. Besides, there are numerous people who are put on their good behavior or go into hiding.

The saddest story is of pastor Rim Gi Yun of No. 1 Methodist Church in Pusan who was summoned to the Pusan Public-Security Corps and tortured to death. He was walked off at 10 on the morning of July 19 and the next morning found lying unconscious in the bed of the Combined Army Hospital. Afterwards he received treatment at the hospital attached to Pusan University, but died in the evening of July 26.

As a very healthy person he had been No. 1 anti-Pak regime fighter in Pusan since the 1960's. Even the Pak regime had failed to lay hands on him because of his dignified manner and great influence over Christians. But he met a miserable death. The Public-Security Corps is said to have offered 100,000 *won* to Mrs. Rim, notifying her of her husband's hospitalization. But she flatly refused it enraged. They say pastor Rim met his death because of his keen support for Kim Dae Jung. Every supporter for Kim should die. This is the faith of the Chon Du Hwan clique.

Everybody is in a state of despair. All Koreans

must have been in such despair in 1910 when Korea was reduced to a colony of Japan. Everyone is even unable to give a piece of his mind under the dark days when the ruffian pretends to be virtuous. Young people may think they have experienced both "liberation and annexation" in a short period after the October 26 incident last year. Despairing of this country, the people may quit it if possible. It may take time to remove this hopeless state. The prime task in this dark age may be to save the young people from the depths of despair and nihilism and defend right culture and national identity as it was in the monasteries of the Dark Ages.

No one dare raise grumble in face of death. Only the families of the conscientious offenders raise their voice in protest. On July 10 Mrs. Pak Yong Gil, wife of pastor Mun Ik Hwan, made statement on behalf of the families of those arrested in the May 17 incident. She declared that the so-called investigation result of the Kim Dae Jung case made public over fifty days after walking off many people and keeping their whereabouts in the dark was one cooked up out of spite. They appealed to the people for democratization when even Chon Du Hwan, to say nothing of Choe Gyu Ha, was promising democratization. Why then is that a rebellion plot or a plot to overthrow the government? It is the Chon Du Hwan clique that have seized power unlawfully. Now they brand as a communist the person who won 46.7 per cent of the votes in the 1971 government-manipulated presidential election. He had never been accused of being a communist though he had stood trial many times before. Has he changed now so suddenly? Her tone was sharp.

On August 11 a statement entitled "Our Opinion" was made public on behalf of the Conscientious Offenders' Families Council and the families of the detainees involved in the May 17 case. It was writ-

ten as typing was prohibited and it might get the typist into trouble.

If they think the south Korean people support Chon Du Hwan, the statement stressed, it is entirely groundless. Newspapers are nothing but a bulletin made on Chon's instructions. Why does the United States interpret this "calmness of terror" where there is "no freedom of criticism but that of support", as a "calmness of support"? The south Korean people wanted to win political liberty in social stability but the Chon Du Hwan junta trampled it and caused social unrest out of their political ambition. The political regime set up by them can by no means be accepted as based on a "national agreement". It is as plain as daylight that they don't want detente on the Korean peninsula in order to maintain their unlawful power. The US support to Pahlavi excited an inextinguishable anti-US feeling of the Iranian people. So long as the United States continues to assume such a posture as of helping the military in suppressing the Kwangju citizens, the anti-US feeling of the south Korean people will mount higher. The statement concluded with these words: "We pledge ourselves not to relax in our efforts until the flower of democracy will bloom." Conveying this statement to me, my friend said:

"Wonderful are the resistance and activity of the wives and mothers of conscientious offenders. Their love for their husbands and sons, and for the suffering young people makes them fear nothing. It is a female fortitude. Now theirs seems to be the only voice, and it will never die out. It will spread wide like flames. Families of those who have gone into hiding are walked off or intimidated. In case a person in question doesn't appear before the police, his parents and even younger brothers are threatened with arrest. Asked which is more valuable, one life

or four lives, they are nearly intimidated into submission. But they hesitate, hearing a story of a prisoner who has been transferred to hospital after going through severe torture."

Chon Du Hwan will build up this system of violence with his followers. However, a spark of the families of conscientious offenders will surely flare up into flames. And it will surely bring the cruel power to justice, though conscience is now being tried by that brutal force.

MILITARY TRIAL OF KIM DAE JUNG

Aug. 18, 1980

Chon Du Hwan is employing every available means to suppress the resistance force while fortifying power. The "1980 World Evangelical Holy Meeting" held on the evening of August 14 with the mobilization of 2,500,000 people was not a mere Christian but political meeting designed to make the Christian force of south Korea non-political. On the morning of August 6 a prayer meeting was arranged at the Rotte Hotel with the attendance of Chon Du Hwan. It was allegedly called a "prayer meeting for the future of the state and nation". Former Pak Jung Hi supporters gathered there in honour of Chon Du Hwan. There was even such a politically foolish pastor who prayed that Chon Du Hwan would become a leader equal to Moses of Israel. The government did not fail to telecast this

gathering for an exceptionally long hour. South Korean Christians fight in such a rigorous climate. They are even betrayed by their colleagues. However, there is no doubt that most of the Christians keep a sense of conscience in their minds, even though they were forced to mingle in that mammoth meeting.

Out of the 16 judges of the Supreme Court, five resigned on August 9. They were expelled because of their opposition to death sentence on Kim Jae Gyu. Their expulsion is also related to the forthcoming Kim Dae Jung's trial.

Military trial of 24 defendants including Kim Dae Jung began from August 14. A written indictment was conveyed to each of them on the evening of the eighth, 87 days after arrest. It is said to be a personal one. The Martial Law Command notified them that three state-assigned counsels would plead for each defendant. On the evening of the eighth, their families including Mrs. Li Hui Ho, wife of Kim Dae Jung, were notified that they were allowed to visit the defendants. Mrs. Li had been in a financial trouble, only her niece and daughter-in-law being allowed to visit her. She was now free at last and on August 9 visited the military prison in the Namhansan Castle. Her car was escorted front and rear by the KCIA cars, and when it pulled up before the prison, ten KCIA men in plain clothes surrounded her to prevent her from meeting and talking with others, families of conscientious offenders in particular.

Prisoners were all living skeletons. The prison cell had only one small window, excluding the sunlight. They were allowed to read only the Bible, so there was no need to send in books. They must be too weak to read books. It seems that only Kim Dae Jung is accused of being an instigator of the Kwangju incident. Isn't it strange that he could manage

it all alone? But it seems they had no alternative but to accuse him like that. Meeting his wife after 87 days' interval, Kim Dae Jung said to her about many colleagues suffering together with him. He said repeatedly: "The whole responsibility rests on me. I'm really sorry for them. They have nothing to do with me." He seemed to face the court with a grim resolution, bearing something in his mind.

Interrogation was conducted in a ghastly atmosphere in the presence of five MPs to supervise, write down and tape-record. In this condition pastors Li Hae Dong and So Nam Dong and Prof. Li Mun Yong alone could express themselves somewhat clearly. Pastor Li Hae Dong painfully said three times: "I'm too badly tortured. I must lie down." Pastor Mun Ik Hwan had all fingers of his right hand blistered as he was forced to write a confession diary for 55 days. They were interrogated mainly on their relations with Kim Dae Jung and the source of his funds.

Even the Christian representative is not admitted to the court. Four Korean and two foreign journalists are admitted to, but their manuscripts should go through the censorship of the martial law authorities. Korean journalists will write as dictated by the Chon Du Hwan junta, irrespective of the court testimonies. There is no doubt that under the title "Rebellion Plot and Other Criminal Action of 24 Persons Including Kim Dae Jung", all newspapers, even devoting their ad. columns, will fill over five pages with a report that Kim Dae Jung has admitted all the contents of the written arraignment. They will never touch the torture inflicted upon the defendants. More, the Chon Du Hwan clique have succeeded in gagging foreign correspondence. This is what they call an open and fair trial.

The lawyers who have so far taken briefs of political offenders are imprisoned or out of office. No

lawyer is willing to plead for the defendants even when their families consult him. Those lawyers held that it is impossible to practice law under the prevailing situation. According to their logic, only when the imprisoned lawyers like Pak Se Gyong are released and those lawyers retired from the bar on a written pledge are reinstated, can they plead for the defendants. Notwithstanding this, the KCIA compelled the families of the defendants to engage lawyers. They seem to have thought that the state-appointed lawyers alone would be unable to convince the world public opinion. In case of Kim Dae Jung, three state-appointed lawyers and three privately-engaged lawyers are to hold a brief for him. But the privately engaged ones are all strangers to his wife. The KCIA says Kim Dae Jung has agreed to engage them. In such situation his wife is refusing to hear the military trial.

It is the trial in camera. The families want the world public to continue to protest against it. Defense lawyers must be freely engaged and allowed to make full investigation of the case. The hearing must be written in shorthand and proceed at the rate of one session a week. Its contents must be impartially covered in newspapers. There is no likelihood that the Chon Du Hwan junta will pay heed to these demands. The families are in a state of despair, laying their hope on the pressure of the world public opinion.

Today I can only give a short account of today's public trial which must have passed censorship. Supervision over the forenoon session was stricter than over the afternoon session. At the cross-examination of the lawyers, Kim Dae Jung stated for one hour. Then under the watch of MPs, he could have a seven minutes' talk with his lawyers in a back room outside the court. At the afternoon session the lawyers were allowed to read the written

examination of Kim Dae Jung. His today's statement was on Hanmintong (the National Congress for the Restoration of Democracy in South Korea and the Promotion of Unification). He made clear that the Hanmintong members in the United States are opposed to dictatorship and maintain the stand of "giving priority to democracy over unification", though they are leaning to south Korea. He only admitted that he had received 200,000 *won* from Japanese Dietman Utsunomiya and had dollars in cash. The public prosecutor's statement was complained of being too long, and the judge urged him to make it short. At the afternoon session the lawyers demanded one hour break. Then Kim Dae Jung stressed that in his opinion there was no sympathizer with north Korea among the Hanmintong members in Japan. Lawyers hated to drop a word to journalists though they had talked much in the forenoon. It was because there was a pressure on them in the afternoon. I'm very sorry that I can't give a detailed account of Kim Dae Jung's trial.

August is a very eventful month. Liberation came in August and on August 8 Kim Dae Jung was abducted from Tokyo. And now his life is at stake. In Kwangju the martial law forces are still making the search. Calling on the wounded in-patients, they ask about the source of their wounds and force them to attribute it to the violent "rioters". A dissident is threatened to be transferred to the military hospital. Now the government insists that the foreign reports on the Kwangju incident are not founded on facts. Unable to bear the sight of the old YWCA head Cho being beaten and jeered at the Kwangju military prison, the secretary of the imprisoned lawyer Hong Nam Sun made a protest against it. For this, he too was pommelled and had his leg broken. There is no end to the list of such practices. On August 9 pastor Im Myong Jin who had engaged in missionary

work in an industrial district was set free. He used to relate facts with courage on release from prison, but this time he is keeping mum with a blank look. Attributing this to the dark situation, no one is asking him. Kim Dae Jung and other conscientious democratic personages are all in such wretched plight. They are suffering torture this very moment. I would like to conclude today's letter with the citation of the following words of an elder who is closely related to politics:

"Still now newspapers are carrying articles to the effect that the north alone claims for Kim Dae Jung's release. He is so pitiful. His case is being tried that way. The present reality of south Korea makes one feel that all devils are out to attack his conscience. Chon Du Hwan cannot do anything but that. Kim Dae Jung is really fated to suffer. The history of this suffering country has brought him up. And he has resolved to take its destiny upon himself and emerged as a charismatic leader of the people. Heaven has bestowed a rare opportunity upon us through him. If it is balked, it means destroying the history of this country and the will of this people. Like a wolf in the guise of sheep, Chon Du Hwan tries to show his modesty to all. But it is a Satan's smile. He is bound to perish. There will be a greater chaos. Then no one but Kim Dae Jung will walk with the people who will only hear his words. He must survive anyway for that day. They are going to kill him, thinking his existence is the very source of resistance. But I only pray to God to spare this man destined to suffer."

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